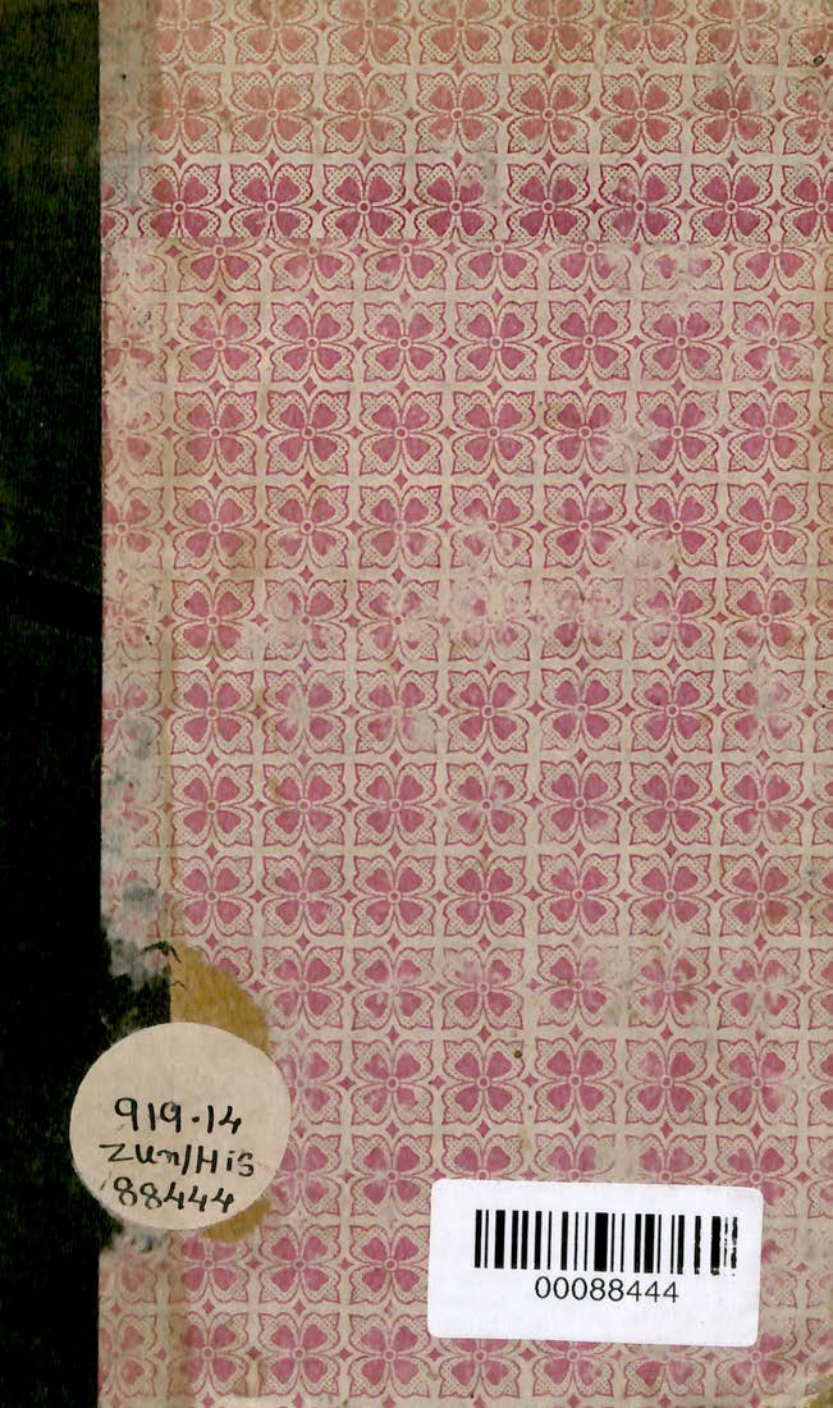
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AN

HISTORICAL VIEW

OF THE

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS:

EXHIBITING

THEIR DISCOVERY, POPULATION, LANGUAGE, GOVERNMENT, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, PRODUCTIONS AND COMMERCE.

FROM THE SPANISH OF

MARTINEZ DE ZUÑIGA.

PUBLISHED AT MANILA, 1803.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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WITH

A new and accurate Map of the Islands,

FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE.

TRANSLATED

BY JOHN MAVER, ESQ.

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PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

CHAPTER I.

ANNO DOM. 1669.

The Administration of Don Manuel de Leon.

DON Manuel de Leon, the new Governor of these islands, took possession on the 24th of September, 1669. The first act of his government was to declare that Señor Boniſaz, who had been Governor *ad interim*, had not been duly authorized, and though he confiscated his goods, he did not succeed in his attempt to imprison him, as the moment he gave up his government, he retired to the convent of the Franciscans. The Governor found the com-

merce of Manila at a very low ebb, as there were only two ships which sailed from the island, one from Cavite, and another from Lampon, and there was very little doing in the commerce with China. To remedy this, he sent to Macao Captain Losada and the Jesuit Mesina to revive it, and by the prudence of these two, and the disinterestedness of the Governor, such an extended commercial intercourse took place not only with China, but with the adjacent coasts, that these islands were filled with goods, which was of course highly beneficial to the royal coffers. On the 11th of April, 1677, the Governor, while at the nuptial ceremony of the Oidor Coloma, was taken suddenly ill in the church, and being removed to a house on the river side close by, he expired the same day.

CHAPTER II.

ANNO DOM. 1678.

The Administration of Don Juan de Vargas.

Don Juan de Vargas took possession of his government the 21st of September, 1678, and began his administration with universal applause; but in a little time the passion of avarice effected a thorough transformation of his character: disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities alone engaged the public attention during the whole period of his government.

CHAPTER III.

ANNO DOM. 1684.

The Administration of Don Gabriel de Curuzalegui.

Don Gabriel de Curuzalegui took possession of his government the 24th of August, 1684, and by his judgment and prudence, put an end to these disgraceful dissensions.

On the 27th of April, 1689, the Governor died, and was interred in the church of St. Augustine. He was a quiet and inoffensive man, and although he leaned too much to the side of the Archbishop in the ecclesiastical disputes which had occurred for some years previous, yet the court approved his conduct. On the 22d of December, the same year, the Archbishop

died. Señor Abella succeeded to the Government *ad interim*, and during his Administration the Marquis of Villasierra, Don Fernando Valenzuela, terminated a political life as remarkable as any on record for the versatility of fortune which distinguished it. This nobleman was known by the name of Sylph, because he took the opportunity of one night entering the palace at Madrid, in a private manner, and relating to the Queen mother what was passing at court, by which means he gained her confidence, and became prime minister and grandee of Spain. Don Juan of Austria having persuaded his natural brother, Charles the Second, to send the Queen mother from Court, he ordered her to retire to Toledo; and by this fall of the Queen, Villasierra lost his popularity, was imprisoned, stripped of all his honours, and banished to the Philippines, 1679, where he was imprisoned in the fort of Cavite, and remained there till 1688, in

which Don Juan of Austria died, and the Queen was restored to the favour of her son. On this occasion Villasierra was liberated; and after living some little time on charity near Manila, he embarked for New Spain, where (in Mexico) he died by the kick of a horse. Strange reverse of fortune this man had suffered! From the highest station in the court of Madrid, he was sunk to that of nearly absolute want. At Madrid he had filled the highest dignities, and most important political situations: he was banished to the Philippines, confined many years in a dungeon, restored again to his rank, and died as above related.

CHAPTER IV.

ANNO DOM. 1690.

The Administration of Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, of a distinguished family in Pampeluna, took possession of his government in 1690, with the accustomed pomp on these occasions. On his arrival, he found that the royal establishments were very badly administered, the superintending officers paying more attention to their own individual interests than to those of his Majesty, whose control was too remote to produce any salutary check on their proceedings. He set immediately about collecting the arrears of the annual tribute remaining due

to the King, with which he re-built the Governor's palace, enlarged the hall of the Royal Audience, and the offices of the auditors. Under these he established the respective prisons, and begun the royal store-houses.

In the year 1692, the ship Santo Christo de Burgos arrived, sailed the following year, and was never more heard of. In 1694, the galleon San Joseph, richly laden, was wrecked on the island of Luban in a severe storm, in which the ship, cargo, and four hundred people were lost.

In the Marianas, the Indians, with the soldiers of the fort, and the galley-slaves which came in the admiral's ship which was wrecked there, all rose in rebellion. They had determined to murder all the Spaniards that were in the islands, and take possession of them; and which they would have executed, had not one of their party discovered the conspiracy, when a stop was effectually put to it by the valour

and conduct of the Spaniards and friars. The Indians were compelled to confine themselves to the islands of Guajan, Rota, and Saypan, all of which have been since deserted.

From 1690 to 1701, ecclesiastical disputes solely occupied the public attention.

CHAPTER V.

ANNO DOM. 1701.

The Administration of Don Domingo Zabalburu.

Don Domingo Zabalburu took possession of his government on the 8th of September, 1701. He finished the royal magazines which had been begun by his predecessor, re-built the redoubt of San Antonio Abad, and repaired the fortification of Cavite, the inhabitants of Manila contributing with their accustomed generosity by presents for the purpose. At this time the Kings of Jolo and Mindanao had a serious misunderstanding, each requesting assistance from the Governor, which, how-

ever, he declined, knowing that by taking part with one, he exposed these islands to the enmity of the other. He sent the Jesuit Antonio de Borga to reestablish harmony between these two nations upon any justifiable ground, as war had been declared by Spain against the English and Dutch, and it was deemed necessary to maintain a respectable maritime force to defend these islands, and in particular to protect our galleons, exposed as they were in their voyage from New Spain, to be captured by the ships of these nations, as happened with the Rosario, which was attacked by two English ships among the islands of Nativity and Salagur, in December, 1704; but she compelled them to fly, and she pursued her voyage to Acapulco. The following year the galleon San Xaviar was wrecked, which was severely felt in Manila.

CHAPTER VI.

ANNO DOM. 1709.

The Administration of the Conde de Lizarraga.

Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi Conde de Lizarraga took possession of his government on the 25th of August, 1709. His first care was to send out of the islands all those Chinese who had been hitherto in the habit of remaining annually after the departure of the junks, to the great prejudice of the Spaniards. The safety of the state required this step, and all were expelled except those who were mechanics, or in the service of the public. The indulgence granted to these, was ascribed to the advantage the Governor derived from the licences he issued for that

purpose. This step taken by the Governor was of great service to the country, as the Chinese came into it on the pretext of cultivating the land, and on this ground were allowed to remain; but it was soon found that they were even less active than the Indians, and that for one who applied himself to agriculture, a thousand were dealers of different descriptions, and in this they were extremely expert. They adulterated the weights and measures, as well as the different articles of sugar, wax, and almost every other commodity, so as not to be easily discovered. They were all monopolizers, watching narrowly the wants of the inhabitants, and the demand for different articles of consumption, which they kept back until they rose to their price. All this they had long practised with impunity, as, by virtue of presents duly applied, they were able to secure powerful protectors; and although sometimes they were fined, they took care that,

even on the very day the fine was exacted, they should be reimbursed by the advanced price they fixed on the very goods in question. By this means they became rich in a short time, and either remitting their money to China, or returning with it themselves, they thus defrauded the Philippines annually of immense wealth [1].

The Jesuits of Manila, in 1696, had made an attempt to reduce the islands of Palaos, or Pelew, which were understood to consist of thirty-two in number, and to be very populous; but it was not till 1710 that they were enabled to make good a landing on them, when a patache, sent by the Governor, at last effected this desirable end.

These islanders appeared so friendly, that the pilot who had been sent on shore with an Indian to discover a good landing-place, was persuaded to go up the country to the chief, who receiving him with

cordiality, the favourable report he made to the fathers determined them immediately to land and plant the cross. They accordingly departed in the launch, accompanied by twelve of the people, with an intention of returning to the ship as soon as the object was effected; but the pilot, after making repeated signals, having protracted his stay until the setting in of the periodical hurricanes, was compelled to abandon the mission in this state of uncertainty, and return to Manila; since which time nothing has been heard of the Jesuits or the Spaniards who accompanied them. Two ships, indeed, have been sent in search of them, but one was lost, and the other failed in her attempt to reach the Palaos, the only result of her voyage being the discovery of a few insignificant islands.

In the year 1710, three English ships arrived on the coast of California, and our squadron on that station having been separated, were attacked singly by them. The

admiral, whose captain was a Frenchman, struck without opposition. The other ship, Nuestra Señora de Begoña, Captain Francisco de Angulo, being deficient of his complement of men, and even those in a sickly state, after a gallant resistance, was compelled to retire. Our loss on this occasion was eight killed and eight wounded. Our galleon mounted twenty-four guns and twenty patereros, and the largest English ship thirty-six; the second twenty-four, and the third twenty-two guns. The King, irritated by this disgraceful loss, severely censured the Viceroy for his imprudence in confiding a Spanish ship of war to the command of a stranger.

On the 4th of February, 1715, deeply regretted by all, after an administration of five years, died the Conde de Lizarraga, and the Oidor Torralba succeeded him *ad interim*. He rendered himself extremely useful to the colony in casting artillery, and in other public works; but he had the

misfortune to be on very indifferent terms with his colleagues in office. Señor Pavon, who had been divested of his office by the concurrence of the Royal Audience, in the views of Señor Torralba, appealed to his Sovereign, who acquitted him, and permitted him to return to his office. The royal order to this effect arrived during the governorship, *ad interim*, of Señor Torralba, who refused to put it into execution, and so persecuted Señor Pavon, that he compelled him to take refuge in the convent of St. Augustine. He likewise proceeded, in a most hostile manner, against the Oidor Villa, on a most ridiculous pretext.

CHAPTER VII.

ANNO DOM. 1717.

The Administration of Don Fernando Bustamante, commonly called the Marshal.

THE Field-Marshal Don Fernando Bustamante Bustillo y Rueda, late alcalde mayor of Tlascala, in New Spain, took possession of his government on the 9th of August, 1717. He was a man who knew how to make himself obeyed, and the more difficulties he encountered, the more did his resolution impel him to meet them with effect. He began by issuing some strong decrees, and others still more severe were expected. These were principally directed to the recovery of above two hundred thousand dollars, which he found

were due to the royal treasury by different people, both by those in office, and generally by the public. These parties finding he was determined on the measure, began to murmur at his proceedings. Without, however, allowing himself to be influenced by any consideration of this nature, he laid an embargo on all the silver that came in the galleon from Acapulco, and required from the public functionaries correct statements of their accounts with the royal treasury. By an examination of those names which appeared as owners of the silver, he found it an easy matter to cover all those debts, and by this dexterous management recovered about three hundred thousand dollars to the treasury. Many of those, however, then indebted to the government, having died, or being reduced to poverty, their securities of course became responsible, and this extended the consequences of his measures to so many in Manila, that he became an object of

general hatred, particularly as he went so far as to punish delinquencies by confining individuals as prisoners in their office, and by seizing their property. He ordered the late secretary of Torralba to give an account of what had been received for licences granted to the Chinese, and as this was not complied with, he seized all his effects, and committed him to prison, practising many other acts of severity too numerous to mention.

Although these islands had been many years at peace with the Kings of Jolo and Mindanao, yet several pirates of those kingdoms continued to infest our coasts, and yet no redress could be had from the respective Sovereigns, who frankly acknowledged their inability to prevent such irregularities. With a view to correct these abuses, the Governor was desirous of re-establishing the station of Zamboanga, which, in the time of Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, had been abandoned through

apprehension of the Chinese pirate Cogseng, who had at that time threatened these islands.

This matter was brought before a select committee of the royal works, who decided, by ten against seven, that the station should not be re-established; among other reasons alleging, that it was of no service against the Moors, and that it was supported at the heavy annual expense of twenty-five thousand dollars, answering no other purpose than that of enriching the Governor, whose appointment was from Manila, and for a term of three years. In opposition to the decision of this committee, however, the Governor ordered the works to be re-constructed. This further exasperated the public against him.

The Franciscans having requested the Governor to place a garrison in Labo, in the island of Paragua, to protect them from the Moors, he consented to it, and accordingly erected a fort at much less ex-

pense than that of Zamboanga, though as little tending to the public benefit.

Don Fernando Bustamante, not satisfied with urging the Spaniards to cultivate commercial connections with the other kingdoms of Asia, was desirous of establishing one with the kingdom of Siam in particular, to whose King he sent a nephew of his own, bearing magnificent presents. He arrived in safety, was received well, and entertained splendidly. He delivered his credentials and presents to the King, and concluded a treaty of friendship, by which the Spaniards were allowed to establish a factory in that kingdom.

By virtue of this treaty, a ship from Siam arrived at Manila with goods, but the Governor treated the Siamese so ill, that they returned discontented, and by this conduct the whole cost of the embassy was thrown away. The Spaniards severely censured this extraordinary conduct of the Governor, some attributing it to the ca-

price of his disposition, while others feeling less inclination to smother their sentiments, asserted boldly that the public interests of the monarchy, and of these islands, had no influence with him, unless they accorded with his own individual views of interest, or with the gratification of his passion for ostentation.

A charge was made by the King's fiscal against Señor Torralba, for property which had disappeared during the time he held the chief authority, the amount of which, according to his own account, was seven hundred thousand dollars. It was understood that his son had effected his escape with considerable property, and that his wife, with his younger sons, had embarked in the ship for Acapulco, at the close of his government. The royal fiscal requested that the property might be attached which his wife had taken with her, and that the person of Torralba might be secured. The Governor, in compliance with this, and

always very zealous for the royal revenue, imprisoned him in the fort of Santiago. At this period the decision of the court arrived, by which Señor Villa was acquitted, and Señor Torralba fined in twenty thousand dollars, with orders to give security for twenty thousand more. His inability to comply with the terms of his sentence, put it in the Governor's power to indulge his antipathy against public delinquents, by loading him with fetters, and treating him with the greatest rigour.

These proceedings of the Governor were sufficient to expose him to the hatred of all. It is certain that a little before his death, a royal order arrived, in which the Archbishop was charged to place the Royal Audience on the same footing as before, and the chief Oidor had liberty to suspend the Governor from his office, if it was found necessary.

Having despatched the ship for Acapulco, under the command of Don Do-

mingo Nebra, with letters in justification of his conduct, and suspecting that private letters had been forwarded by the same vessel, complaining of him to the government, he sent directions to stop the vessel, but she sailed immediately on the arrival of the officers despatched for that purpose, without paying any regard to the orders for her detention.

The Governor, who was not of a disposition to permit himself to be insulted with impunity, ordered three ships which were lying in the port of Cavite to be prepared, and gave the command of them to Don Fernando de Angulo, for the purpose of pursuing the galleon, and bringing her back to Manila; and in case this force should not be able to overtake her, he at the same time despatched a patache, in which he sent his nephew, Don Alexandro Bustamente, to New Spain, to give information of what had passed. This was unquestionably a necessary measure on the

part of the merchants, as the royal officers had retired to St. Augustine, without having furnished a correct register of the different goods on board, and they had reason to fear that on their arrival at Acapulco they would be seized.

The Governor was given to understand that Angulo would not attack the galleon even with his three ships, as he was one of those who had entered into the conspiracy against him, when it was determined that the Chinese should be murdered. All, in short, were become heartily disgusted with his tyranny, and were ripe for rebellion, though few had concerted any regular plan for the purpose. The Governor, whose destiny led him to the edge of the precipice, instead of tranquillizing the minds of the public by resorting to prudent measures, began to commit still greater enormities. This alarmed the Señor Villa, who was the only Oidor that remained, and who had been appointed Fiscal. It

appeared clear that the Governor's conduct would produce some dismal catastrophe, and, unable to oppose it, fearing likewise that his own life was insecure, he took shelter in the convent of the Augustines.

On the retirement of the Señor Villa, the Royal Audience was annihilated, as Señor Torralba was in prison by order of the King, and the Governor would not permit the Señor Pavon to return to his office again; the former fiscal was dead, and the Señors Velasco and Torribio, the honorary Oidors and law professors, had had all their property confiscated, and had been imprisoned. The annihilation of the Royal Audience was a misfortune both to the inhabitants of Manila, and likewise to the Governor, as it was the means of giving validity, in the name of the King, to his atrocities. He consulted Señor Torralba, and agreed that he should be released from his dungeon, and confined in the hall of the Royal Audience, where the

functions of this respectable tribunal were exercised by one individual, of notorious character, who had been deservedly disgraced, and was a prisoner by order of his Majesty. Under this authority the Governor began to imprison those whom he chose to consider as obnoxious to him, none being exempt but those who had taken refuge in the churches, which were by this means filled with the first people of Manila and its neighbourhood. A notary public, among others, had retired to the cathedral; his effects were immediately seized, and, upon examination, his register of sales, contracts, &c. was missing from his office. The ordinary Alcalde who seized his effects consulted the Governor upon this circumstance, and stated, that although he had taken refuge in a sanctuary, yet, legally, he ought to be compelled to deliver up the register. The Governor submitted it to the decision of the Royal Audience, which being composed of Señor

Torralba solely, he immediately despatched an order, to which the royal seal was affixed, addressed to the Archbishop, in which he was directed to enter the cathedral, and deliver up to justice the notary public, who had taken refuge there.

Señor Cuesta, who did not wish to have an unavailing dispute, consulted the two universities upon the point, and they unanimously gave it as their opinion, that Señor Torralba could neither give due authority to royal orders, nor could the archbishop direct the royal jurisdiction, even if duly authenticated, to be exercised within the church. He forwarded to the Governor these opinions, with a view to justify himself in declining obedience to the order which had been issued by Señor Torralba. This reply was forwarded by the Governor to the Royal Audience, and it occasioned the issue of another order still more severe, in which the archbishop was treated with little ceremony, and threatened to be com-

pelled, by force, to obey, and no longer shelter himself behind a consultation with the two universities. The archbishop, convinced that Señor Torralba was the principal instigator of these unhappy disputes, with less prudence than the circumstances of the times required, issued a process against this violator of ecclesiastical sanctuary, and excommunicated him. This was the grand error he committed, and from which melancholy consequences resulted; for having sent two of the clergy to intimate to him the sentence of excommunication, Torralba, on observing them approach, went to meet them, and snatched from them the paper containing it. Immediately afterwards appeared a publication from him, accusing the clergy of an intention to take away his life, and suborned witnesses: having, on examination, confirmed this charge, the Governor was induced to commit to prison the Archbishop, and several of the clergy and reli-

gious orders, with such other persons as had taken refuge in the churches.

Before, however, this order was put in force, a proclamation was issued, requiring all the inhabitants in the vicinity to assemble in the office of the royal auditor, in aid of the civil power; and that on the signal of the discharge of a cannon, with ball, they should all repair to the palace. When the time arrived to put the scheme in execution, the artillery was levelled against the city, and the gates leading into the square, and the fort of Santiago being secured, and ammunition distributed to the guards appointed there, the signal gun agreed on was fired, and all in the vicinity repairing to the palace, they were detained there.

Having thus made his dispositions, the Governor ordered the Archbishop, with all the ecclesiastical Cabildo, the Commissary of the Inquisition, the heads of the religious orders, and various other clergy, to be

seized. By these arrests and preparations, consternation was spread over the whole city; nothing was seen but knives at people's throats, and it was said that it was the intention of the Governor to decapitate all the Spaniards, and escape to the coast of Mexico with their property. Even this extravagant charge was credited, as he was known to be a man who respected no tribunal, and who had violated the sanctuary of the churches, by dragging from thence those who had taken refuge there, committing them to prison, not even excepting the ecclesiastics. Despair alone produced a tumultuous assemblage of the inhabitants, but without any premeditated plan, nor is it an easy matter now to discover how the disturbances began.

The religious of the different orders were seen in procession along the streets with crucifixes in their hands, accompanied by people of all classes, particularly those who had taken refuge in the churches, and who

had not yet been seized, calling out, "Long live the true faith, long live the church, and long live our King, Philip the Fifth!"—They arrived in this manner at the church of St. Augustine, where the chief people of Manila, who had taken refuge there, joined them, and being provided with arms, they followed the procession to the palace. A page intimated to the Governor that the friars were in procession along the streets, and he immediately gave directions to put a stop to it, though he was ignorant of its meaning, and only presumed there was some tumult. On observing them from the window, however, and being convinced of their mutinous intention, he despatched positive orders to the fort to fire the artillery on the city; but although the Governor of the fort was his son, his humanity, or his disobedience was such, that he only fired two, and those so ill pointed, that the shot did not take effect.

Meantime the immense concourse of

inhabitants arrived at the palace without opposition, when the guard, either overawed, or conniving at the measure, permitted them to pass unmolested, and the crowd ascended the staircase. The halberdiers, who were on guard in the antiroom, made no resistance, nor did even one individual attempt to defend the palace except the Governor, who rushing out alone, fired his fusee, and with his drawn sword attacked the crowd. A friar endeavoured to accost him, but he called out, "Leave me, father, unless you wish to murder me," and making a cut with his sabre, he wounded a citizen. Upon this a general attack was made on him, when his arm being broke, and his head severely wounded, he fell apparently dead. His son, the Governor of the fort, observing from thence that the tumult had reached the palace with every alarming appearance, he mounted a horse in order to assist his father, and entered the palace sword

in hand, but he was overpowered, and wounded so severely that he died the same evening. A Jesuit friar approached the Governor, to ascertain if he still lived, when the dying man said, in a faint voice, "Father, do not abandon me until the last moment of my life, which I have well deserved to lose, on account of my misconduct." He very devoutly confessed himself, and some of the mutineers seeing that he was still likely to live, carried him into an adjoining apartment, and put him in a hammock, with a view to convey him to a dungeon in the court prison, when, in his passage out, he was met by a slave of the chief auditor's, Don Vincente Lucea, who gave him two mortal stabs with a knife. The father and son were both placed in the chapel of the prison, and the dean sent for surgical assistance, but in the mean time, between five and six in the evening, they both died, having received

their wounds between twelve and one in the course of the day.

The mutineers proceeded to the prisons, set at liberty the inhabitants of Manila confined there, and placed in their stead the Oidor Torralba and Doctor Correa, who had officiated as fiscal during these disturbances, and likewise as secretary to the Governor.

The Governor being dead, the ordinary alcalde assumed the reins of government in the civil department, and Don Fernando Bustamente, the son of the late Governor, who had that day lost his life in assisting his father, notwithstanding this succeeded nominally to the military department. The arrangement was every way invalid, as his Majesty had determined, by repeated royal edicts, that on the death of the Governor, the Royal Audience should be invested with the reins of Government. This tribunal, however, had been of late merely

a shadow, as it had been composed of Señor Torralba solely, who was a prisoner by his Majesty's order. The principal people of the city not knowing on whom to bestow the chief magistracy, went to the fort of Santiago, where the archbishop was confined, and requested that he would assume the government. He, however, declined it, on the plea that he was not authorized; but upon their pressing his acceptance of it, he left the fort, and passing by the palace of the Governor, the people attempted to force him to enter and take possession of it, but he resisted, and proceeded on to the archiepiscopal palace. He ordered two notaries public to examine the body of the Governor, who reported that he was dead, and upon this report the principal people in Manila again assembled, and resolved, that under all the circumstances, it was incumbent on the archbishop to assume the direction of public affairs. The archbishop was at last pre-

vailed on to assent, but before taking the customary oaths, he thought it prudent to make the declaration, that what he did was not from any wish to prejudice the right which any person might have to the government through the appointment of his Majesty. The ceremony ended with the citizens doing him the same homage as was usual on the appointment of regular Governors.

The day following he summoned a council, at which, in conjunction with those who had assisted him the day before, were present the Oidor Villa, who had left Manila and had retired to Guadalupe, and the honorary Oidors, Velasco and Torribio, whom the insurgents had released from confinement. The Señor Villa was acknowledged in this assembly as legitimate Oidor, and as such he renounced the right which the laws gave him of holding the reins of government, and recognized, on the day following, in the hall of the Royal

Audience, the archbishop, as his legitimate President and Governor, delivering up to him the keys of the secret archives. The Royal Audience being thus formed, it was agreed that in consequence of the want of regular Oidors, the honorary members, Velasco and Torribio, should be added to their number, as there were many suits pending which required immediate adjudication. Velasco and Torribio were not desirous of taking this situation without being duly authorized by the King; but finding that it was the unanimous opinion of all who had attended at the meeting held for the purpose, they at last agreed to it. Finally, Señor Pavon was restored to his office of Oidor, agreeable to the order of the King, and he likewise ceded his right to the Governor, though there was afterwards a dispute between Señor Villa and him respecting precedency as the oldest Oidor, and which dispute the archbishop decided.

There never appeared less confusion at

an insurrection than on the present occasion, every individual seeming satisfied with his lot in being relieved from unjust oppression and violence. The archbishop, who had assumed the reins of government, was the only person whose mind was not at ease; but in a short time he was restored to tranquillity by the arrival of a royal order, enjoining him to suspend the Governor from his office, and imprison him; replace the Royal Audience on the same footing as before; set at liberty the Señor Velasco, and assume the reins of government himself, which was exactly what had been effected by the late disturbance.

The archbishop had neither forgotten the dead bodies of the Governor and his son, nor his orphan family; he buried the former with all the pomp and solemnity which Governors were accustomed to receive. Bustamente left six sons; the oldest was appointed guardian to the others, and they were allowed one thousand dollars

per annum for their maintenance. They afterwards requested permission to proceed to New Spain; but his excellency would not grant it, until the elder brother paid into the royal treasury the expenses of the voyage, and agreed to conduct all his brothers to Mexico, where they had rich relations, who would receive them into their protection, and educate them.

The death of the marshal took place on the 11th of October, 1719, within a little more than two years after he assumed the government.

The public mind being at length tranquillized, the Oidor Velasco was commissioned to enquire into the circumstances relating to the death of the Governor and that of his son. He examined seventeen of the first characters in the city, who had taken no part in this disturbance, and their evidence tended to confirm what we have above related. He afterwards took the depositions of those in the service of Busta-

mente, who all declared against the conduct of their master. He even summoned before the judge some scholars, whom he accused of having published libels on the late Governor; but they justified themselves, and were acquitted.

He likewise proceeded to examine Señor Torralba, Doctor Correa, secretary to the government, and another counsellor, who served as fiscal *ad interim;* who threw the whole blame on the Governor Bustamente, representing him as a perfect devil, under whom they were in constant apprehension of their lives, and urging in their defence that the confusion was so great, they were ignorant of what was passing, and knew not who were or were not imprisoned. Lastly, the depositions of the Governor's body guard was taken, of whom, however, no information could be procured, they declaring that they were so confounded at the multitude of people assembled on the occasion that they knew

nothing of what passed. The utmost they heard was, that those inhabitants of Manila who had taken refuge in the church of St. Augustine had united with the friars, and were coming in a body to the palace, but who committed the murders they were totally ignorant of. The Oidor Velasco now gave orders, that all those who had taken refuge in the convent of St. Augustine should be imprisoned in their own houses: when, however, this was known throughout the city, such consternation prevailed, that Velasco revoked his decree, and delivered in his report with all diligence to the Royal Audience, who, without proceeding any further with the examinations into this business, ordered that a minute of it, as it then stood, should be forwarded to his Majesty. This wise proceeding tranquillized the minds of the inhabitants of Manila, who had felt exceedingly alarmed during the progress of the enquiry.

The archbishop governed these islands for the space of two years with much prudence, and gave great satisfaction to the public, preserving in Manila the utmost harmony among all the different classes of inhabitants, and making due preparations against the Moors, who shewed a disposition to attack the garrisons which had been established to keep them in check. That of Zamboanga was an object of much jealousy to the Moors of Mindanao; and Dulasi, King of Butuy, sent a powerful armament to attempt to get possession of it by assault; they were repulsed by the Spaniards, but although severely handled, they did not desist from the enterprize.

The Kings of Jolo and Mindanao sent out their fleets for the avowed purpose of relieving the Spanish force in Zamboanga, but the Governor of that fort, doubtful of their intentions, would not admit them into the place, nor make use of them in any shape. Their design upon this be-

came evident, as they immediately joined Dulasi, and they lay with their three squadrons for some time in view of the fort, watching a fit opportunity to possess themselves of it. Finding, however, that the Spaniards were constantly on the watch, and despairing of compelling the fort to surrender, they dispersed their vessels through the islands, committing great excesses, and making many prisoners in every quarter. They, as usual, burnt many towns and villages, robbed many churches, and in Calamianes murdered a Franciscan friar. The archbishop called a council of war on this occasion, when it was resolved that the fort of Zamboanga should be abandoned, as likewise that of Labo, which the marshal had erected in the island of Parava, and that their garrisons should be sent to augment that of Taytay, which was deemed sufficient to protect the whole of Calamianes.

CHAPTER VIII.

ANNO DOM. 1721.

The Administration of the Marquis de Torre Campo.

BEFORE the death of the marshal was known at Madrid, the information which had been received of his extortions and despotism had induced his Majesty to nominate as Governor Don Torribio Cosio, Marquis de Torre Campo, late Governor of Guatimala, who took possession of his government on the 6th day of August, 1721. Many charges were preferred against the former Governor, and many of his friends were looked upon as his accomplices. Some of them, however, denied the charge, and others asserted that they

acquiesced in his measures in order to save themselves from his violence, and to secure their property. Don Esteban Iñigo, among other charges, was accused of monopolizing the rice, which had been the occasion of a great famine in the islands; but he replied that he had been compelled to enter into this speculation by the Governor, and acceded to it as the only means of saving the rice, as well as the whole of his own property.

When the marshal's death was known in Madrid, a royal order was forwarded to the Governor to bring to justice those suspected of being his accomplices. The marquis, on this occasion, consulted the Franciscan Friar Totanes, his confessor, and the college of Jesuits, as to the conduct he should observe. After considerable discussion, it was resolved to suspend all further enquiries, and communicate to his Majesty the proceedings which had already taken place, and the advice which he had

taken, thus putting an end, for the present, to these distressing enquiries. The archbishop at this time was removed from his chair, and translated to the bishopric of Mechoacan, as a punishment for his having coincided with the marshal's measures, and for having, without due authority, assumed the baton of office after his death. He died on the 30th of May, 1724, a few days after having taken possession of his bishopric.

The islands would have enjoyed peace and tranquillity under the new Governor, had not the Moors still continued their depredations on the provinces of the Bisayas, and which the marquis sent a squadron to repress, but this, like every preceding attempt, had failed of success.

Don Juan Gainza, to whom was imputed the murder of the son of the Governor, embarked for Acapulco, accompanied by Don Diego Salazar, who was the companion of Lucea, the supposed assassin of

the Marshal Bustamente. When the relatives of Don Fernando Bustamente heard of the arrival of these men at Acapulco, they petitioned the Viceroy for their imprisonment; and on this application an order was forwarded to the Governor of Acapulco to proceed against them. He accordingly took the depositions of the people in the ship, and as little could be proved against them by this means, he sent them prisoners to Mexico. Here a very circumstantial account of the deaths of the marshal and his son was produced against them, in which it was urged that these two were accomplices in the murder. This account was not deemed sufficient to authenticate further proceedings, although a son of the deceased Governor swore, that a similar statement of the transaction had been given in Manila, by the father-in-law of this same Don Diego Salazar, agreeing in every point with this of Don Alexandro Bustamente; the nephew of the deceased Go-

vernor swore to the truth of his having heard the same story; and likewise the marshal's confident, Diego Muzarabe, confirmed it with the declaration, that although in Manila he had declared against his master, yet that it had been through fear of his own life, and that he was influenced by that consideration, when he stated simply, that the refugees in the church of St. Augustine had only approached the palace in a tumultuous manner, from which had resulted the fatal catastrophe. Luis Pardo Santizo Piñeiro's declaration was nearly to the same effect; and although the truth of the majority of these depositions was strongly suspected, yet their oaths, in the mean time, were admitted as a matter of necessity against the supposed criminals.

Don Juan Gainza requested that they might be sent back to Manila to take their trial, and the Viceroy finding the case full of difficulty, forwarded the whole of the docu-

ments to his Majesty, putting Don Juan Gainza in confinement until the determination of the King should be known. This in due time arrived, and the Viceroy was instructed to remand the parties to Manila, to take their trials along with the others accused of the crime in question.

The council of the Indies, who had taken the account of the examinations on the murders of the Governor and his son, agreed with the Royal Audience in remaining apparently satisfied with them; but a royal order having been forwarded to the Marquis de Torre Campo to sift the business to the bottom, and punish the offenders, this Governor, having no desire to enter further into such unavailing processes, consulted the Friar Totanes and the Jesuits, who had before given him their assistance. The friar on this occasion exaggerated the loss of property sustained by the inhabitants of Manila, and by the pious establishments: he represented the severe

pressure arising from the absolute scarcity of rice, on which account, it was said, many had died of hunger. He alleged that the marshal had been the cause of all this; that his violent proceedings had been the means of producing a strong sensation among all ranks, and converting the conduct of the citizens into a measure of self-defence, having no other alternative for alleviating the miseries they were exposed to than by deposing him from his office. To what tribunal, it was well urged by the friar, could they cite him to answer for his conduct? The Royal Audience was abolished; the archbishop and clergy in prison; and the government of the city had been committed to an ordinary alcalde, who was the Governor's nephew, and two regidores, his creatures. There being, therefore, no tribunal to which he was amenable, they had determined on confining him, as the most eligible mode of terminating their miseries; and in this

justifiable attempt to save their own lives and properties, his resistance produced a mortal wound. More ought, therefore, to be attributed to the marshal's violent and imprudent conduct, than to the inhabitants of Manila.

This language, which in fact amounted nearly to sedition, was represented to the King as the sentiments of all the clergy of the Philippines, but it was an attempt to asperse their reputation, as the Friar Totanes had no authority in this respect; and in fact most of the clergy, with the Jesuits, had no hesitation in expressing their disapprobation of the conduct of the citizens of Manila, although they allowed that the extraordinary circumstances of the case, rendered them deserving of the royal indulgence.

In this business all the accused remained unpunished except the archbishop, who had the least share in the disturb-

ances. He, however, was punished severely; that worthy prelate, who in imitation of Christ, bore on his shoulders the sins of his people. Señor Torralba, whose cavillings added fuel to the flame of this tumult, was imprisoned in the fort of Santiago. The marquis tried him by a special commission, by the sentence of which he was fined an immense sum, deprived of his office, and condemned to perpetual banishment from Madrid and Manila, allowing him, however, to return to Spain, after he had paid the first one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. During the remaining period of his imprisonment, he was in a very bad state of health, and when liberated he was in such misery, that he was reduced to the necessity of begging, to avoid dying of hunger. After his death, he was interred as a common pauper in the church of San Juan de Dios. The severity of this lesson is sufficient to im-

press on us the necessity of a correct and upright conduct, and it is hoped it will not, in this respect, be thrown away.

In the year 1718, his Majesty sent to Manila three professors; the Señor Velasco, professor of laws, with a salary of eight hundred dollars per annum, with the rank of Oidor; and at the end of seven years to be promoted to be Alcalde del Crimen at Mexico. The Señor Toribio was likewise to have the rank of honorary Oidor, and to have five hundred dollars per annum, as la Cathedra de Instituto, and at the end of seven years he was to be promoted to be Oidor of Guatimala. The professor of canon law was Doctor Osio, who received eight hundred dollars per annum, and was to be promoted to be prebendary of Mexico. Señor Velasco being soon after removed to the Royal Audience of Mexico, the Governor directed that there should be only two professors, because their stipends were chargeable on

the vacant bishoprics, and had been paid as an advance (by way of loan) from the treasury at Manila, by which about forty thousand dollars had been paid to them by way of salary, of rent of houses for their public lectures and other matters, and only nine thousand had been received in reinbursement from the Viceroy of Mexico, who had declined remitting more without a special order from court. Despatches were forwarded to his Majesty; and in the mean time the Governor placed the professors in the college of St. Philip, but the other professors opposing it, the archbishop removed them to that of the Jesuits, where, out of mere disrespect of Señor Osio, the Friar Murillo taught the canon law until the year 1730, when a royal mandate arrived, by which the professors were suspended, and indeed, very little benefit had accrued to the public from them.

About this time the Emperor of China, who had permitted the exercise of the

Christian religion in his dominions, died. His successor, however, proscribed it altogether, banishing the missionaries from the empire, and permitting the residence of a few Jesuits only, who were teachers of mathematics at Pekin. The Pope, desirous of propagating the knowledge of our faith throughout all Asia, sent two barefooted Carmelite friars in quality of ambassadors to the Chinese court. According to eastern custom, they introduced the object of their mission by presents to the Emperor; but the only advantage which resulted from it was, a permission for some missionaries to remain in China.

Since this period, some of that valuable class have contrived, clandestinely, to reside in that country, and to this day continue to preach the gospel; yet their sufferings are frequent and very severe, being at times thrown into prison and banished the kingdom, where, however, in a short time they find means to return, by bribing

the mandarins with money, the grand engine which governs this vast empire. The prohibition above alluded to extended to the tributary kingdom of Tonquin, where the missionaries suffered still more, for in escaping from the hands of the Governors of the different provinces, they fell into those of the freebooters, who robbed and ill treated them.

The King of Jolo sent a Chinese as ambassador to Manila to treat for peace; his excellency received him favourably, and Don Miguel Aragon was in consequence despatched to Jolo with ample powers to establish a permanent alliance with that prince. An alliance was entered into, but its duration was very short; the natives of Jolo, naturally fickle and turbulent, joining with those of Mindanao in the usual predatory excursions against our islands, in which they were guilty of the customary excesses.

The inhabitants of Manila, on this oc-

casion, subscribed a handsome sum to fit out a small squadron for the purpose of repressing these marauders. It proceeded against the Moors, and eventually compelled them to sue for peace, but not before they had done us very considerable injury.

The galleon Santo Christo de Burgos, in her voyage to Acapulco, was stranded on the island of Ticao; upon which occasion, on the frivolous pretext of being prevented, by the offensive smell of the cargo, from opening the hatches, with a view to save the property, the ship was set fire to with the intention, there was reason to think, on the part of her commander and merchants, of attempting to embezzle, for their own use, some of the merchandize during the conflagration; but finding this impracticable, the ship and her valuable cargo were totally abandoned to the flames. This stratagem has been frequently resorted to by the merchants of the Philippines, and it

will often be successful, so long as it remains undecided how the loss ought to be borne in cases of that nature. The pious establishments are the assurers, according to the terms of the instruments or deeds, made between them and the respective adventurers, who borrow money of them for the purpose of embarking in this trade; but these instruments, expressing the lender's risk to be total loss only, the borrowers, to prevent any thing from being saved, so as to leave room for litigation, as to whether the loss was total or partial, set fire to the vessel, to place it beyond all dispute. In such cases the loss of the ship, I conceive, should be borne generally; whatever is saved should be divided among the parties, according to the property they had on board, and which might easily be ascertained, by examining the manifest with the original deeds[2].

CHAPTER IX.

ANNO DOM. 1729.

The Administration of Don Fernando Valdes y Tamon.

Don Fernando Valdes y Tamon took possession of his government on the 14 of August, 1729. He found Manila tally destitute of military stores; the l sustained by ships, the reinforcing the ferent garrisons, and the armaments agai the Moors, having occasioned a great di minution in the stores of cannon and small arms, both of which it became necessary to purchase from foreigners, as the foundery at Manila was not capable of supplying the deficiency. He made arrangements accordingly for procuring the necessary supply from the Peninsula of Asia,

and from Batavia, taking care that the arms should be always kept in good order, a task, however necessary, yet extremely difficult in so humid an atmosphere. Indeed he in all respects proved himself an expert military man, by the several fortifications he constructed, the walls with which he surrounded the city, the outworks he formed for its better security, and the new establishment he erected for the manufacture of gunpowder.

He determined to chastise the audacity of the Moors, who were, as usual, infesting the provinces and coasts of Bisayas, and he sent against them an armament which succeeded in burning their towns and villages: but this was by no means doing them any essential injury; they had little to lose, and in return they laid waste nearly the whole of the Spanish possessions with fire and sword. However much Señor Tamon was desirous of repressing the depredations of these pirates, he found it

impossible, the low ebb of the treasury opposing a sufficient bar to his fitting out such a force as might answer any other purpose than that of a temporary check on their ravages.

The Governor's resources being thus too much limited to enable him to make the necessary exertions against the Moors, he called a council of the principal inhabitants of Manila, in which it was resolved, that it was absolutely requisite for the public safety that a number of different armaments should be fitted out; that forts should be erected along the coasts, and points of communication and rallying established between the towns; and that, in aid of the royal funds, a contribution of five hundred dollars should be imposed on each town. Some of the religious establishments had found it necessary to adopt the expedient of erecting works round the different churches, where the Indians might take refuge from the inroads

of the Moors. Others constructed watch-towers on elevated situations, with a view to discover the enemy, and give the necessary alarm, taking due care to visit them during the night, to ascertain that the centinels were sufficiently vigilant, thus discharging the twofold duty of pastors and military officers. By this arrangement, even no fishing town was without its small fort or station for its protection.

The royal funds, however, contributed in no respect to this desirable object; the public was indebted for it solely to the friars, who, from their slender stipends, made the necessary disbursements to the superintendants of the works and for the pay of the soldiers; and succeeded, by persuasion and threats, in inducing the towns to furnish materials and workmen, expending much money, and exercising great perseverance, in order to complete the necessary means of defence.

No sooner did the alcaldes mayores see

these military posts put into an effective state, than they determined to take them under their own control; and an officer is now annually sent for that purpose to each station, with orders to draft a certain number of natives for its service. The officer regularly keeps these men at work on his own farm, or obliges them to purchase, with money, an exemption from this labour, leaving, generally speaking, the post completely abandoned. This is every way a severe hardship on the adjacent inhabitants, and proves the truth of Señor Solorzano's observation, that whatever is done with a view to benefit the Indians, by some means or other is converted to their prejudice.

The conquest of the islands of Carolinas and Palaos having been suspended from the time of the Conde de Lizarraga, began again to attract the notice of government[3]. There had arrived at the Marianas two vessels out of four, which in pass-

ing from one of the Carolinas to a neighbouring island, had met with a gale of wind, and were driven on our coasts, without knowing what had become of their companions. The Governor of Marianas determined to take these Indians to their own country, having in view, at the same time, a more accurate examination of the islands in question. Accompanied by the Jesuit Cantova, he accordingly proceeded on his voyage of discovery with these vessels; but being unable even to find the islands, he pursued his voyage to Manila, where he persuaded the Governor to accede to his undertaking this object. In the year 1730 he returned to the Marianas with the permission he had solicited, and reiterated his attempt, in company with the Jesuit Friars Cantova and Victor, eleven soldiers, and eight seamen, taking with him as a guide an Indian of Palao, who had been baptized, and who, they presumed, would be able to conduct them

in safety to their destination. They discovered the island of Moymoy, and erected a military station in that of Talalap, where they built a church and a house, baptized some children, and instructed some adults in the first duties of religion, by which they were vain enough to believe that the conquest was completed, and they began to think of despatching the vessel for additional aid, to enable them to subdue the remainder of the islands. The Friar Cantova, with some soldiers, took up their residence there, while Friar Victor with the remainder, and some of the islanders, who had expressed a wish to accompany them, sailed on their return to the Marianas, but not being able to make them, bore away to Manila, where one of the Indians was baptized, the Governor standing godfather. The Friar Victor embarked in a patache, with the necessary succours, to his companions; but arriving at Talalap, he found that the church and the house of

Friar Cantova had disappeared, and from one of the natives he understood that the whole party had been murdered. Convinced of the difficulty attending the subjection of these islands, he returned to Manila, and since that period no similar attempt has been made.

Under this Governor was terminated the discussion which had subsisted between the Chamber of Commerce of Seville and the merchants of Manila, the subject having occupied the public attention many years. The merchants of Seville argued, that the galleon ought not to carry silk from Manila to New Spain, in either its raw or wrought state; and that the commerce of the Philippines with that country ought to be restricted to cotton goods, flag-stones, wax, and spices; and even to this they insisted on the propriety of limits being placed, on account of the great injury arising to the mother country from the trade. The consequence of these discus-

sions was a royal decree, which granted to the merchants of Seville the full extent of what they required; but the Viceroy of Mexico, to whom the decree was forwarded, would not put it in force, representing, in his justification, that the commerce of the Philippines was absolutely necessary to the kingdom of Mexico, as the duties levied upon that commerce fully repaid the expenses of the public establishments requisite for these islands as a colony; and as he had just then received intelligence, that the island of Luzon had suffered most severely not only from the locusts, but from the violent and injudicious conduct of the then Governor (the marshal), he did not conceive he would act correctly in putting the order into execution. Upon this representation being laid before the council, it was resolved, that the Philippines should have two galleons in future, and that the merchants there should be permitted annually to ship

in them for New Spain, to the value of three hundred thousand dollars, in goods of every description, wrought silks and gold embroidery excepted, both which were prohibited. As a return cargo, they were permitted to carry back double that amount in silver, and the residue of their profits to be invested in merchandize, or in produce of New Spain.

The merchants of Manila again petitioned his Majesty on the subject, and, in compliance with their request, he permitted them to take wrought silk to Acapulco; but on a second representation from the merchants of Seville, stating the heavy loss these concessions would create, the Viceroy of Mexico was finally instructed, that for five years the trade should remain on its old footing, except that the merchants of Manila should not be allowed to send wrought silk to New Spain.

The Viceroy of Mexico had sent this royal order to Señor Tamon, the then Go-

vernor of Manila, and when it was communicated to the merchants, various meetings were held, and it was resolved that no alteration in the shipments should take place, and that it should be given out that the royal order had not arrived in due time to be promulgated, previous to the arrangements which had been made for the usual shipments. In short, great consternation prevailed. The Governor did not interpose his authority against the general sentiments, but intimated his apprehension that the Viceroy would seize the goods on their arrival at Acapulco. During this agitation of the public mind the galleon arrived, bringing the order from Madrid, which is in force to this day, and by which it is ordained, that the merchants of Manila may ship to the amount of five hundred thousand dollars in cotton goods, manufactured silk, wax, spices, and every description of goods from China, the Peninsula of India, and the islands, and that

they may take in return one million of dollars in silver, and the rest in merchandize, or South American produce[4].

Our guarda costas, during this year, captured a Dutch vessel, and brought her to Manila, where she was condemned, under the pretence that she was carrying arms to our enemies the Moors. As soon as the Dutch in Batavia understood this, they despatched three ships to cruize off Mariveles, with a view to intercept the galleon which was expected to sail about this time for Acapulco, as well as the one which was expected to arrive. Intelligence of the disposition made by the Dutch was forwarded to the straits of St. Bernardino, but the messenger on his arrival found that the galleon was aground in the bay of Calantas, and that the silver had been taken out and sent to Sorsogon. Some works had been erected to protect the ship, and many unsuccessful attempts were made to get her off, when she was eventu-

ally set fire to, that she might not fall into the hands of the Moors.

The Dutch annoyed these islands considerably, by thus preventing any vessels from entering or leaving the port of Cavite. The Governor viewed with deep concern this attack on our possessions, and found himself embarrassed how to act, as he had transmitted to court the account of the seizure of the Dutch vessel, and had decreed her condemnation; but as the Dutch seemed determined to avenge the insult, he had every reason to apprehend that serious misunderstanding between the two powers might be the result. In this dilemma he resolved to restore the vessel, and write to the Governor of Batavia on the subject, on which the Dutch retired, and left the bay open. Nothing else worthy of notice took place during this long government, except the arrival of a new archbishop on the 24th of January, 1737.

CHAPTER X.

ANNO DOM. 1739.

The Administration of Don Gaspar de la Torre.

SEÑOR Don Gaspar de la Torre, born in Flanders, of Spanish parents, arrived at Manila, and found, among other cares that would devolve upon him, a suit which had been carrying on against Señor Arroyo, the royal fiscal, upon an accusation preferred by Señor Tamon. An attempt having been made to apprehend and imprison the fiscal upon this occasion, he was too much on his guard to fall into the snare, and took refuge in the Franciscan convent, preserving, in this secure retreat, the liberty of his person, though he could not save his property, which was all seized,

that small portion excepted which he was able to take with him. The matter was in this state when Don Gaspar de la Torre took possession of the government. The archbishop, who was the angel of peace in these islands, persuaded himself he could succeed in accommodating the unhappy difference, and proposed to the new Governor his mediation in favour of the fiscal; but this was opposed by the Governor, on the ground that Arroyo ought to show his respect for the laws, by submitting to be imprisoned in the fort, and undergoing the usual forms of trial. The archbishop was inclined to think that the accused would enjoy more liberty in the fort than he did in the Franciscan convent, and all his friends being of this opinion, Señor Arroyo was at last persuaded to quit his retreat. This unfortunate determination subjected him to fresh hardships, for he was immediately seized, thrown into a dungeon in the fort, and accused of several new crimes.

He was asked if he was aware of the cause of his confinement; he answered, that he conceived he was imprisoned because he would not, unnoticed, pass over the sums of which Señor Tamon, and many of his particular confederates, had defrauded the royal revenue, amounting, he believed, to about three millions of dollars: he declined saying any thing further, as he was in a state of confinement.

All these proceedings were forwarded to his Majesty, and in the mean time Señor Arroyo's imprisonment in the fort was accompanied with circumstances of the greatest rigour, which had the effect of reducing the mind of the archbishop to a state of profound melancholy, considering himself as the author, however innocently, of the fiscal's miseries. He sickened and died in a very short time, to the great grief of all, on account of his affability and many excellent qualities.

Through the connivance of the Oidors,

Dr. Neyra, professor of laws in the college of the Jesuits, was made fiscal *ad interim*, and by this means an addition was made to the number of Señor Arroyo's enemies. He was now accused of having married without licence. Examinations were taken on the subject, and a number of witnesses produced, who were all of the clerical order, and among them particularly was the person who had performed the ceremony. Arroyo endeavoured, by every means, to refute this charge, but as the Governor was his decided enemy, the clergy threw their weight likewise into the scale against him. In a very short time he fell sick, and died in a few days, borne down by the accumulated miseries to which he had been subjected. He was the best and most faithful minister his Majesty ever had in these islands, and his person ought to have been held as sacred as that of a Roman tribune.

The King, fully informed of the harsh

treatment of the fiscal, and the violent proceedings against him which had been resorted to, became convinced of the truth of the allegations preferred against the conduct of Señor Tamon, and acquitting the fiscal of the crimes imputed to him, forwarded an order, permitting him to return to his office, enjoining the arrears of his salary to be paid up, and directing that the two lawyers who had appeared against him should be fined two hundred dollars each. Before this order arrived, however, the fiscal was no more; a result commonly looked for in this climate, where the difficulty of recovering, in cases of a depression of spirits, is generally insuperable[5].

About this time war was declared between Spain and England, an enemy more to be dreaded on account of the injury formerly done by this nation to the Philippines. On this occasion, Admiral George Anson passed Cape Horn with a squadron, in which passage he lost some ships, but

with the remainder he run down the coast of America, doing all the mischief in his power. He arrived at Acapulco, where, finding that the ship Nuestra Señora de Cobadonga, had not yet sailed to the Philippines, he prosecuted his voyage thither, with the two ships which remained of his squadron. He refreshed at one of the Islands of the Marianas, and put into Canton river to refit his ships, which had been considerably damaged in the progress of the voyage. In Manila all the operations of Anson were known, and to prevent him from capturing the Cobadonga, the Governor despatched a galiot to give notice of this powerful enemy, with directions for the Cobadonga to change her route, and send information respecting it, in order that a galleon, which was fitting in Cavite, might proceed to her relief. The galiot discovered, near the straits of St. Bernardino, an enemy's vessel, and not doubting that it was Anson, gave notice to the armed galleon

in Cavite, which immediately put to sea, but grounded on the island of Ticao, and made so much water that she was compelled to return. The Cobadonga arrived at the Marianas under charge of a Portuguese pilot, and sailing from thence in perfect confidence of safety, arrived at Cape Espiritu Santo; where the English, upon the alert, and in greater forwardness than it was expected they could be, were waiting with their ship the Centurion, after having refitted her at Canton.

When the Cobadonga perceived the enemy, there was no alternative but to yield, or boldly encounter a superior force. They chose the latter, and fought so desperately, that they did not strike till they had sixty killed and seventy wounded, among the number of which were the first and second captains. Admiral Anson took possession of the vessel and property, amounting to one million five hundred thousand dollars in silver alone, and carried

the ship to Macao, where he left the Cobadonga, proceeding to Canton to careen his own ship.

The merchants of Manila felt this loss most severely, and to be revenged, in some measure, requested the Governor to allow them to fit out a squadron with a view of pursuing Anson, and intercepting the China fleet. Four ships were accordingly equipped at the expense of the inhabitants of the town, and Don Antonio Quijano was appointed commander. He arrived at China, but Anson had already sailed for Europe, when not being able to return on account of the monsoon, he wintered at Macao, and without doing any thing returned to Manila the following year. A strict enquiry was instituted before a court martial into the conduct of the commander and officers of the Cobadonga, and on view of the allegations brought against them they were acquitted, and only compelled to pay the charges of the court martial.

In consequence of this capture, however, a ruinous lawsuit commenced between the merchants of Manila and the pious establishments, whose property was embarked in her. The loss was declared total, and there appeared no doubt that the pious establishments were liable to that extent; but it was ascertained that some merchants had left their property in Acapulco, and of course there was no real total loss, as all the produce of the original adventure had not been embarked. The pious establishments, therefore, asserted that their property, or a portion of it, still existed in New Spain. The merchants on the other hand alleged, that if the Cobadonga had arrived at Manila, the risk of the pious establishments would have been at an end, and the merchants must have paid them their original advance, although they must have run the risk of bringing to Manila the property left in New Spain.

The Royal Audience determined this

suit in favour of the pious establishments, but the merchants petitioned the council of the Indies, which gave it in their favour. This, as may be supposed, has given rise to several lawsuits in like cases, such diversity of opinion prevailing on the subject, that it were to be wished the system was either wholly abolished, or altered considerably, as it at present gives rise to numberless frauds and impositions, to which the existing laws furnish no check [5].

Don Gaspar de la Torre entered with a bad grace on his government, in his violent proceedings against the fiscal, which drew down on him the hatred of the public, and the disasters of this period contributed to inflame their resentment. His whole conduct, indeed, was apparently directed rather to reconcile himself to this prejudice, than to remove it. Convinced of the general disgust against him, he fell into a profound melancholy, followed by dysentery, which is rarely cured in the Philippines.

It was aggravated by an account which arrived of a disturbance in the town of Balayan, in the province of Batangas, and he at last fell a sacrifice to a false report which was in circulation, that the Chinese were entering the city, when notwithstanding his illness, he determined to oppose them in person, but was prevented by his friends, who very soon discovered the fallacy of the report. The effect, however, which it had on his frame was such, that he died in a few days after, on the 21st of September, 1745.

Señor Arrechedera, of the order of St. Domingo, bishop elect of Ylocos, succeeded him, conformable to the order of his Majesty. Upon enquiring into the alleged defection of the Chinese, he found no such thing had been even attempted, and that the report had been circulated merely to annoy the Governor. Arrechedera was not slow in quelling the disturbances in Balayan. He sent an officer,

with one hundred regular troops, and a considerable body of Indians against the insurgents; and although this officer was not able to disperse them, as the Indians under him fled at the first onset, he succeeded in checking their attack, without having suffered in any other respect than a wound from a musket ball, which he himself received from one of his own new raised recruits. He applied to the Governor for further aid, and two hundred men being added to his force, he attained his object. He left a small detachment in the province to overawe those who might be ill disposed, and the rest of the troops were embarked for Cavite, as accounts had been received that the English had arrived with a squadron at Batavia, and the Alcalde of Ylocos reported, that two ships and two smaller vessels had been seen on that coast, supposed to be enemies. The Governor immediately put Manila into a state of defence, repairing the

fortifications, purchasing arms from strangers, and casting cannon. All these preparations, however, proved unnecessary, as the English never appeared, but it was eventually discovered that they had captured a brigantine and another vessel.

Before this time a dreadful persecution commenced against the Christians in the province of Tonquin, and generally in the empire of China. In Tonquin many suffered martyrdom, and among others two Philippine missionaries, the Friars Gil de Federich and Mateo Liciniana, both Dominicans, who had left Manila for the purpose of assisting the missionary establishment which the Dominicans had in China. They were imprisoned separately, and at different times, but they had the happiness, before they died, of being lodged in the same dungeon, where they mutually consoled each other, and by bribing the soldiers who had the charge of them, they were permitted to say mass,

and preach and administer the sacrament to the Christians there. In these sacred duties they were occupied continually, until the day on which they were to suffer death for the propagation of the Christian faith, by being bound to a log of wood, and having their heads struck off. This took place at four o'clock in the evening of the 22d of January, 1745. The Christians received their bodies, and delivered them over to the Dominicans, who gave them honourable burial. In the empire of China, the determination of the emperors to oppose the propagation of the Christian religion seemed daily to become stronger, and the Viceroy of Tonquin, who knew that in his province there were many concealed missionaries, persecuted the Christians in every way, in order to induce them to discover them, when, on the imprisonment of several with this view, the missionaries voluntarily came forward and delivered themselves up to the tyrant.

There were in all five, of the order of St. Dominic, and belonging to that establishment in the Philippines; viz. the most illustrious Don Friar Pedro Martir Sanz, of the province of Catalonia, Bishop of Mauricastrense, and Apostolical Vicar; the Friars Pedro Franciso Serrano of Jaen; Juan Alcaber of Grenada; Joaquin Royo of Hinojosa, in Aragon; and Francisco Diaz. They were examined frequently, and suffered severely from being beaten and otherwise tormented. The Viceroy at last sentenced Señor Sanz to lose his head immediately, condemning likewise the rest to the same punishment, but deferring their execution till the ordinary time. The court of Pekin confirmed the decree, and immediately it was made known to him; the Señor Sanz rejoiced exceedingly, and sung *Te Deum*, confessing fully, and waiting impatiently for the period of his becoming a martyr, which took place on the 26th of May, 1747. After a

lapse of six months, his body was found as fresh as the day he was beheaded: it was taken up, burnt, reduced to powder, and thrown into a well, that the Christians might not collect his ashes. The other four friars remained in prison, where they were afterwards strangled privately by order of the Viceroy. Many attributed this persecution to the Jesuits, who bore no good will to the Señor Sanz.

Two ships about this period arrived at Manila from Acapulco, very richly laden, bringing the accustomed relief, of which the colony stood much in need, and which gave new life and activity to the whole settlement. By these ships came the new Archbishop Pedro de la Sona Trinidad, who, when counsellor of the Indies, had taken the habit of St. Francis, and now brought with him a royal mandate, for the absolute expulsion of the Chinese, and the appointment of himself as Governor *ad interim*.

This mandate for the expulsion of the Chinese had often before this period been sent to Manila, but had never been carried into execution, the interest of the Governor being too deeply involved in the suspension of it, the Chinese paying him a contribution for his forbearance. The Archbishop found that Arrechedera was strongly attached to this nation, and he became so far a convert to his sentiments on this subject, that he did not put the royal order in force.

This seems to have been the only error committed by this illustrious prelate during the time he held the government. In all other respects his conduct reflected the highest honour on him. An insurrection in the island of Bohol compelled him to send Captain Lechuga there with an adequate force, who succeeded in reducing to obedience all the towns on the sea coast of the island, but in the interior and moun-

tainous parts they retain their independence to this day.

The Jesuits having urged Philip the Fifth to send letters to the Kings of Jolo and Mindanao, the Governor sent ambassadors with these letters, and with proposals either to acknowledge the Spanish government, or to enter into alliance with us. These chiefs were so delighted with the honour which so great a King as that of Spain had thus conferred on them, that they agreed to admit missionaries into their territories. A Jesuit was accordingly sent to Mindanao, but soon observing the little subordination of the chiefs, and the very inadequate power the King possessed to restrain them, he began to entertain apprehensions for his life, forsook his mission, and escaped to the garrison of Zamboanga. In Jolo two Jesuits attempted to enter upon the object of their mission, but were so violently opposed by the Moorish priests,

and the chief men in the country, that their progress was very limited.

Under these circumstances the King of Jolo, Mahomet Alimudin, resolved on a visit to the Governor at Manila; but this was opposed by the two Jesuits, on the ground of the ascendancy, which, during his absence, his brother Bantilan would acquire, and who was the determined enemy of the Christian name. The King's intention being whispered, Bantilan raised such opposition to it in the court, and among the chiefs, that the irritation became general, and the Jesuits consulted their own safety in retiring to Zamboanga. A short time afterwards the King likewise having been attempted to be murdered, fled to Manila to request the aid of the Governor. On his way he arrived at Zamboanga, and by the assistance of the Spaniards proceeded to Manila, which he entered with seventy persons in his train, and was ac-

commodated at the charge of the King. He afterwards made his public entry, was received with great ostentation, and visited by the principal people in Manila, who brought him presents of gold chains, diamonds, ornaments, rich apparel, and many such things of that nature, as might be expected from the generosity of the Spaniards, and himself and suite were supported at the public expense.

The Archbishop was desirous of making him a convert to the Christian faith, a proposal which he embraced apparently with great fervor, and he was accordingly instructed in the leading principles of our holy religion; but as the general idea was, that he felt little attachment to our religion, and only expected by that means to secure our aid in reinstating him on the throne, his baptism was postponed.

This delay mortified the Bishop of Ylocos, who was particularly anxious for

it, and not being able to bend the Archbishop to his views, he persuaded the King to go to the town of Panique, the first town in Ylocos, in order to be baptized there, a Spaniard accompanying him to act as godfather. Besides his own he had a Spanish guard, and he was received with distinguished honour in every part through which he passed. In Panique he was baptized by the name of Fernando, with great solemnity, by a Dominican, assisted by many others of that order, on the 29th of April, 1750. On his return to Manila, the Governor received him with a general salute, and ordered entertainments of comedies, dances, fire-works, and bull-fights, in honour of his arrival.

In Jolo, Bantilan, the brother of King Alimudin, assumed the supreme authority, after having compelled his brother to take refuge in Manila. He was the worst enemy the Spaniards ever had, on account of the

great depredations he committed on the coasts of all the islands. The Archbishop was extremely desirous of repressing these attacks, but the means he possessed were equally inadequate to this, as insufficient to attempt the reinstatement of the King of Jolo on his throne.

CHAPTER XI.

ANNO DOM. 1750.

The Administration of the Marquis of Obando.

Don Francisco Joseph de Obando, a native of Caceres, in Estremadura, had arrived in the South Sea with a squadron, and was in Lima when the great earthquake happened, by which Callao was swallowed up. On this occasion his exertions obtained the King's favour, and he was nominated Governor of Manila. He then passed over to Mexico, where he married Doña Barbara Ribadeneyra, and accompanied by her embarked for the Philippines, the government of which he took possession of in the month of July, 1750.

The Archbishop, on his arrival, presented him with the King's despatches, in which his Majesty charged him with the expulsion of the Chinese. A council was summoned in order to discuss the measure, when a difference of opinion arose on the subject, which terminated in totally frustrating the good intentions of his Majesty in respect to the Chinese, notwithstanding the prejudice these his dominions suffered by them. The Archbishop claimed the right of sitting on the left hand of the Governor, on the government seat, and which he was not disposed to accede to; and he claimed likewise the same honours from the officers commanding the guard when he entered the palace, or passed through the gates of the city. These points of etiquette alone were of sufficient importance to suspend the execution of the orders of expulsion of the Chinese from the Philippines. The council was consulted on this controversy,

when both points were decided in favour of the Archbishop.

The Royal Audience had likewise a misunderstanding with the Governor, in consequence of his having, on his own authority, given the command of Cavite Castle, *ad interim*, to Don Domingo Nebra; this appointment being, in point of regularity, always given by the consent of, and after duly consulting the Royal Audience, conformable to his Majesty's orders. The Governor did not deny this royal order, but alleged, in his own justification, that he could not find any person so well qualified as Nebra for constructing such vessels as were requisite for the commerce of Acapulco, and the defence of the islands against the Moors; that Nebra was seventy years of age, and could not be compelled to undertake the charge of constructing vessels unless he chose it; and that he would by no means accept the

employment, if there were any interference of the Royal Audience, because, in such case, he would be obliged to reside at Cavite. An extraordinary case like the present ought not to be subjected to common rules, and he had determined according to what appeared to him most conducive to the interest of his Majesty's service. The Royal Audience, in reply, made its representations and protests, but finding that the power of the Governor preponderated, they yielded up the point in the mean time, and appealed to his Majesty. Notwithstanding the science of Nebra, however, of which the Governor boasted so much, the ship Pilar, which he careened before her departure for Acapulco, disappeared at sea, and nothing has ever been heard of her since. Another dispute, which made considerable noise, took place at this time in Manila: a lady who had taken the veil in the nunnery of Santa Catalina, under the name Madre Cecilia, had fallen in

love with Don Francisco Figueroa, and the vacant seat of government being at that time filled by Señor Arrechedera, Figueroa presented himself to the proper officer, requiring that the profession of Madre Cecilia might be annulled. The Vicar General, not desirous of having any controversies with the Dominican Friars, of whose order the Governor was, advised Figueroa, on this occasion, to say nothing on the subject for the present, but wait a more favourable conjuncture for his pretensions. As soon as the Señor Obando arrived, conceiving that the reason which induced him to refrain no longer existed, he presented himself to the Archbishop, requesting, as he had done before, that the Vicar General should annul the nun's vows. His Excellency ordered that she should be lodged in the Santa Potenciana; the Dominicans opposed it most strenuously, and appealed to the superior government; but not finding themselves supported in this

tribunal, they gave up the point, and delivered her over to the Vicar General, who was charged with the care of her. The cause mean time went on, and the Archbishop decreed, after mature deliberation, that the sanctuary of Santa Catalina being by his Majesty prohibited from being converted into a convent, the Madre Cecilia, who had there made her profession, could not be properly considered a religieuse, and that her profession, therefore, was null and void. The Dominicans appealed to the delegate, who was the Bishop of Zebu; the appeal was admitted, but permission was given her to marry. In order to follow up this appeal, with alacrity, a dignified clergyman was ordered to be despatched, who was capable of opposing the pretensions of Cecilia with effect, for it was concluded that to act otherwise would be to dishonour the sanctuary of Santa Catalina; but this gentleman not being disposed to take charge of so unpleasant a suit, pretended ill health. There was no

88411

other of that description in the Philippine Islands to whom they could have recourse, in consequence of which they laid the cause before the Archbishop of Mexico, who received it, and cited the Madre Cecilia to appear before his tribunal, ordering her to be sent to Mexico to answer the plea, and receive sentence.

As the appeal, however, was not allowed to operate to the suspension of matrimony, Cecilia contracted marriage, and with her husband embarked for Mexico, where it was decided that the marriage should be considered as valid, and of course the profession declared to be annulled. This decision having reached the council of the Indies, it was ordered that the sanctuary of Santa Catalina should be abolished, on the decease of all the religious then existing in it, which, however, was not observed, the Dominicans having obtained a reversal of the order.

The Governor having received information of new depredations committed by the

Moors in the Bisaya provinces, determined to fit out an efficient force, which might not only attain this object, but likewise re-establish the throne of Jolo in Don Fernando Alimudin, who had been unjustly deprived of it, and whom he had found, on his arrival at Manila, converted to Christianity.

On this last point, indeed, there was a diversity of opinion, for many thought that his fidelity could not be relied on, and that the very first opportunity which offered he would be guilty of treachery, as his ancestors had been. It was, however, determined in favour of the expatriated King, and he was conducted to Jolo in the Admiral's ship of the squadron, which sailed from Cavite, under the command of Colonel Quian, who was charged with both commissions. The squadron arrived at Zamboanga, with the exception of the Admiral's ship, which not appearing, and that the monsoon might not be lost, or time al-

lowed to the Moors to fortify themselves, the armament sailed from that port on the 13th of June, 1751, and on the 20th came to anchor in the harbour of Jolo, one mile distant from the fortification of the enemy. The attack was immediately commenced, and so panic-struck were the Moorish commanders, that they directly entered into a treaty, and signed an instrument, binding themselves to obedience to the King, and to conduct themselves as faithful subjects, and also engaging to deliver up to the Spaniards all the captive Christians which might be then in the island. With this treaty the Colonel returned in nine days to Zamboanga, carrying with him two sampans with Chinese, whom he found there acting as merchants, and whom he made prisoners, under the pretext that they had sold a cannon to the Joloese, our enemies, with whom we had just made peace. The Admiral's ship had been delayed by a storm, and was detained in Ca-

lapan repairing the rudder, which was the occasion of his not arriving at Zamboanga until the 25th of July, but the King of Jolo, impatient at such delay, embarked, accompanied by two carracoas, and had arrived twelve days before.

Notwithstanding his diligence, the Governor of Zamboanga entertained much doubt of his fidelity, and having taken charge of two letters, one of which he had written, by order of the Governor of Manila, to the King of Mindanao, and the one letter being in the vulgar tongue, and the other in Arabic, a language which he had acquired in Batavia, where he had been some time, it excited a curiosity to know what the King had said in that language so totally in disuse in our islands. Accordingly a person was procured to translate the letter, and the contents were found to be, that he (the King) had written the other letter in obedience to the commands of the Governor of Manila, and

that he could not do otherwise than obey, as he was in the power of a stranger.

To the suspicion attached to this was added another circumstance: a brother of his, named Asin, together with the chiefs of Jolo, who had capitulated with the Colonel, and agreed to receive their King, and deliver up the Christian captives, paid a visit to Zamboanga, and in addition to their bringing with them no captives whatever, they were charged with having introduced arms to surprise the government. The Governor, upon the strength of this charge, immediately confined the King, together with Asin, and those who accompanied him: his house was searched, but only a few arms were found, quite insufficient to induce a belief that he intended any thing against the government; but many other effects were found concealed in his prison, and various informations and *memoranda* which he had sent to the Moors, justified the suspicions entertained of him.

In corroboration of all this, the Admiral and two passengers declared, that the King was on very bad terms with the Manila people, of whom he had received so many attentions and services, and that on all occasions he manifested his ingratitude. That he had said the new Governor detained him prisoner; that he had given no proofs of being a Christian, for he slept every night with his concubines; that he never heard mass; and that he even stripped off the crosses from the rosaries of the family he resided with; and, lastly, that he had become an apostate, by making a Mahometan sacrifice at Calapan, where he had killed a goat, divided it into twelve portions, with many superstitious ceremonies, and distributed it to his companions to eat, by way of celebrating the passover.

The Governor of Zamboanga communicated these proceedings to the government at Manila, requesting instructions

for the regulation of his conduct in respect to the seizure of the Sultan and his family; and the result was an order for his being sent to Manila with all his people. War was likewise immediately declared against the Joloese. Letters of marque and reprisal were granted to whomever might apply for them, and all prize-money was given up arising from captures, together with the liberty of detaining the persons of their prisoners as slaves. So firm, indeed, was the determination of our government to exterminate the Moors, that a general absolution was conceded to all those who should present themselves to serve against them. The armament at Zamboanga, under the command of the Colonel, was reinforced, and a second expedition was undertaken to Jolo, still more unfortunate in its results than the first: for having attempted to disembark in that island, they were received by the Moors with so much spirit, that they were obliged

to retire with considerable loss, and with great disgrace and ignominy to the Spanish arms.

The haughty Bantilan, who governed the kingdom of Jolo in the absence of his brother, proud of the victory he had obtained against the Spaniards, began to treat with the inhabitants of Mindanao, to induce them to break with us, and molest us as much as in their power: and he persuaded all the pirates among those islands to exert themselves against the Spaniards, representing them as conquered, and in great dread of his arms. The consequence was, that the seas were covered with Moorish armaments, which spread desolation in every quarter.

Nothing was heard of but the robberies, burnings, captures of ships, imprisonments, and insults which our provinces experienced from the Moors. So that Señor Obando was resolved to proceed in person against them, and endeavour to re-

move the dreadful evils to which we were exposed.

His Majesty had given orders that an establishment should be formed in the island of Paragua, to shut out the pirates from that quarter, in the same manner as they were from Zamboanga. To proceed with due regularity in this respect, the governor despatched an ambassador to the King of Borneo, to induce him to cede to us the claim he held to part of that island, which, being granted, a squadron was sent there to erect the proposed station, and to cruize against the Moors, who infested the islands. He was desirous of taking the command of this expedition in person, and consulted the Royal Audience on the subject, who were of opinion that it would not be proper to expose himself, and that, by confiding it to some other person, and sending an engineer to make the necessary arrangements for forming the establishment in the island of Paragua, every thing might

be done which the public good required." In conformity to this advice he named Don Antonio Fabea to the command of this expedition, who proceeded from Port-Cavite with eleven sail of armed vessels, taking with him Don Manuel Aguirre, who went as governor of the proposed new establishment. He received orders in passing by Igolote, in the same island, to dislodge the Moors, who were the only possessors of that part of it; but here, sickness prevailing to a great extent in the armament, they merely took possession of the island, and returned to Manila, leaving behind them two hundred and seventy dead, and bringing many more invalids in the squadron. The King of Jolo had by this time arrived at Manila, and was imprisoned in the fort of Saint Jago, to the great satisfaction of all those who had opposed his baptism, and who always doubted his fidelity; but he obtained permission from the Governor for his daughter, Fatima,

who was also a prisoner with him, to go to Jolo, and to carry letters to his brother, and other principal persons, in order to bring about a peace with the Spaniards; and for this indulgence he bound himself to deliver up fifty captive Christians. The princess fulfilled the engagement, brought over the fifty captives, and induced her uncle, Bantilan, to send an ambassador to Manila, to treat on all matters relative to her father. This envoy brought powers to negociate in concert with the King for peace with the Governor; and in confirmation of such powers, he bound himself to observe whatever terms were acceded to by them.

It was accordingly stipulated with the King and the Ambassador, that the Moors of Jolo should deliver up all the Christian captives who might be found in the island. That they should return all the arms they had taken from the Spaniards, and the ornaments of which they had pillaged the churches; and in order to have the treaty

ratified, liberty was granted to one of the chief officers, who was confined with the King, to go to Jolo in company with the ambassador whom Bantilan had sent over. The Governor put very little confidence either in the promises or the treaty of the Moors, for they have never observed them, but have broken them with the same facility with which they made them. He therefore fitted out a strong squadron to compel them by force to a due observation of their engagements, as it was not otherwise to be expected.

His precautions were not in vain, for in the very same year of 1754, the greatest irruption took place which these islanders ever made into the Philippines. They entered with fire and sword in all directions, murdering the religious orders, Indians and Spaniards, burning and robbing towns, and making prisoners of thousands of Christians, not only in the islands near to Jolo, but in all our dominions, even the

provinces in the immediate neighbourhood of Manila.

The fleet sailed which had been prepared to oppose them; but before any thing could be done, the four years of Obando's government expired. His successor arrived, and the Marquis left these islands in the most deplorable situation in which they were ever known. The causes of these evils were either his own ill management, the incapacity of those he employed, or, perhaps, misfortune. What we are certain of is, that the period of his residence here was most calamitous. Yet, we must say, he had many great difficulties to encounter.

The following year he embarked in the galleon Santissima Trinidad for Acapulco, and died on his passage, without ever reaching New Spain.

CHAPTER XII.

ANNO DOM. 1754.

The Administration of Don Pèdro Manuel de Arandia.

Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia, a native of Ceuta, and a Biscayan by descent, took possession of his government in July, 1754, and as soon as he arrived at Manila, he lost no time in adopting the regulations observed in Spain for putting the military on a more respectable footing.

The royal regiment, which consisted of two battalions, he formed into a corps of artillery, putting it into the state in which we now find it, and granted to the soldiers, as well as the officers, a pay sufficient to maintain themselves with decency, and perform their duty without the necessity of

having recourse to any other employment for their support. He took great pains, likewise, in improving the arsenal of Cavite, and the situation and consequence of the officers of that establishment; in doing which he incurred the disapprobation and ill-will of many, to whom such reform and zeal was highly injurious.

In the commencement of his government, in the month of December, there happened a terrible shock of an earthquake, and the Taal, which is in the middle of the Lake Bombon, in the province of Batangas, threw out such an immense quantity of cinders, as completely to ruin four towns which were situated near the lake, and the inhabitants found it necessary to retire a league further into the interior. Many other severe shocks followed, accompanied by loud reports similar to those of contending squadrons, and the atmosphere was entirely obscured by the sand and ashes thrown up by the volcano, so

that at Manila, which is twenty leagues distant, it was scarcely possible to see even in the middle of day; and at Cavite, which is rather nearer, the obscurity resembled the darkness of midnight.

I ascended, with the Señor Alava, to the summit of this volcano, but all that we could observe was a lake, about half a league in diameter, very deep, and containing water of a dark green colour.

The fleet which Señor Obando had despatched against the Moors was so ill conducted, that it was found necessary to take the command from Don Miguel Valdos, who had been sent in that capacity, and give it to the Friar Ducos, a Jesuit, from whose conduct a more favourable result was expected. So effectually did that father conduct the expedition, and with such valour and prudence, that he took from the enemy more than one hundred and fifty sail of vessels, destroyed three towns, killed and made prisoners an immense number

of people, and completely checked the impetuous spirit of those barbarians.

These happy tidings arrived at Manila in January, 1755. Señor Arandia gave orders that *Te Deum* should be sung as a thanksgiving, and confirmed the command of the squadron to the Friar Ducos, whom he very much esteemed, being the son of a colonel of his intimate acquaintance, and appearing to have inherited his father's military talents.

The King of Jolo experienced from the Governor the most kind and compassionate treatment, and he granted him his liberty, although he continued voluntarily to reside in the fort of Sant Jago. He settled a revenue on him of fifty dollars per month, besides six measures of rice for his maintenance, and persuaded the Archbishop to grant him permission to hear mass, and receive the sacrament, of which he had been deprived.

The King was desirous of marrying a

woman who had been his concubine, and had already become a Christian. The Archbishop was not inclined to consent; but Arandia not only removed every difficulty, but allowed him the use of his palace, in order that the marriage might be celebrated with more solemnity and grandeur.

These arrangements were not made without some dispute with the Archbishop; and at the same time another circumstance, although of no great importance in itself, proved sufficient to occasion a great sensation in the islands.

Arandia had complained to the Archbishop, that the bells were not rung when he entered or left the church as they ought to be, he being the representative of his Majesty. It was in reply, the Archbishop alleged, that no royal order existed to that effect; and these contests on points of etiquette, added to the indisposition under which this prelate laboured, which

produced his death on the 29th of May, 1755.

The Governor continued his kind attentions to the King of Jolo, as it appeared to him the best mode of putting an end to hostility with the Moors. He sent thither all the Princes and Princesses, and all the women which had been detained by them, the King only remaining at Manila, who presented repeated petitions for release, and engaged, in the most solemn manner, to conform to the decision of the court of Madrid respecting the cause of his detention.

The Princes and Princesses arrived at Jolo the 5th of October of this year, and they were well received by Bantilan, who being highly pleased with the generosity of the Governor, promised faithfully to observe the treaties of peace which his brother and his Ambassador had signed at Manila. Entirely to put an end to hostilities, it was requisite to have an under-

standing with the inhabitants of Mindanao. Ambassadors were acoordingly sent over, but so numerous are the petty Kings in those islands, and so treacherous, that it was found impossible to establish a durable peace with them. Even admitting that all the chiefs were desirous of strictly observing pacific terms with the Spaniards, they have so little power over their vassals, that they have never been able to restrain them within due bounds. That kind of predatory life having become habitual to them, nothing but a spiritual conquest of their provinces will protect us from the persecuting spirit of these troublesome neighbours.

The government now thought of establishing missionaries in the Batan islands, which lie to the north of Cagayan. Formerly there had been Dominican friars settled in the island of Babuyanes, who employed themselves in instructing the inhabitants in the Christian duties; but in

the year 1690 they returned to Cagayan, upon the order of the chief to quit the country. The father who conducted them immediately established a mission in the Batan islands, about thirty leagues from Cagayan, but after his death his companions retired, abandoning the mission until the year 1718, at which period another Dominican friar re-established it, fixing his residence in the island of Calayan, to which he endeavoured to induce the inhabitants of the adjoining islands to repair for instruction in our faith. But whatever might be the inclination of the Batanians to become converts, only one hundred and fifty persons found resolution to change their residence, and of these one half died in a very little time. That island, indeed, afforded but very few resources, in consequence of which the missionary friar fell sick, and although a successor was appointed, the mission was eventually abandoned.

In the year 1754 the idea was resumed, and two friars were sent for the purpose, of which one died immediately, and the other retired to Cagayan very seriously indisposed, but returned again the succeeding year with a brother friar; and in order to guard against the miseries which they had suffered the preceding year, they determined to take with them a carpenter, who was a lay brother, for the erection of a house and accommodations immediately on their arrival, the materials for which they proposed to have ready prepared for the purpose. Their zeal, however, would not permit them to wait until the materials for the house could be finished, and fearful lest the monsoon should be lost, they embarked without them.

They had scarcely arrived at Cagayan, when they both fell sick; two other friars went to their aid, and they also fell sick, as did all who followed, and it became absolutely necessary to abandon the attempt

after the Dominicans had incurred very heavy expenses to effect the object. In the year 1783, Señor Basco again undertook this conquest; and at length we have succeeded in establishing the Dominicans there, who employ themselves strenuously in the conversion of the inhabitants of these islands.

A Governor was appointed with an assistant, and great expense was incurred in support of the establishment, as it was necessary to send almost every thing from the Philippines, all those islands producing little else than a species of potatoe, and some other objects of as little value.

There is no doubt that other productions might be reared, but the rats are so numerous that they consume every thing, and very frequently the hurricanes destroy the seeds before they come to perfection. Every year a vessel was sent to carry the necessary supplies to the establishment, but as these hurricanes are very frequent,

and many of the vessels were shipwrecked, it became fully ascertained that it would be impossible to maintain the station, and it was determined that only the Dominican friars should remain there, with a small escort, which was to be relieved from Cagayan as occasion might require. On Señor Basco the title of Conde de Conquista was bestowed, as a reward for his exertions in this undertaking; but it is very certain that if half the money which was thus expended in Batanes had been applied in the appointment and support of missionaries in Ylocos, Pangasinan, and Cagayan, his Majesty would have acquired many more subjects, and with much less risk.

It is matter of astonishment that we should have quitted the old beaten track of employing precautionary and pacific measures for the conquest of the Indians, and have recourse to arms and expensive expeditions, merely because they make more noise, and appear more splendid: a

proof of the insufficiency of these appeared on the following occasion in the mountains of the Igorrotes. In the year 1740, the Augustine friars had delivered over to the Dominicans the missions of Ytuy, or Ysinay, so that in conjunction with the missionaries of Panique, who had been established there the year before, the provinces of Pangasinan and Cagayan, by the south side, might be united. The Indians, Christians as well as Infidels, took umbrage at this alteration in the establishments, and a kind of civil war among them was the consequence, so that the Oidors Don Ignacio Azardun, and Señor Rebolledo, who were then inspecting the province of Pangasinan, deeming it necessary, sent troops to quell these disturbances. But a few years afterwards fresh discontents on the same account arose; and in the year 1756, many of the Christians became apostates, and, uniting with the Infidels, were guilty of the greatest excesses. They burnt seve-

ral churches, murdered a great many of those who retained their attachment to Christianity, and losing all respect for the missionary fathers, they diligently sought their lives. This induced Señor Arandia to despatch an expedition in aid of the missionaries, to the mountains of the Igorrotes, which proved of very little effect; for the only purpose it answered was to drive the Indians to the recesses, from whence they again issued on the retreat of our forces. To attain the best mode of civilizing the Indians, it is necessary to know well their character and disposition: either from their turn of mind, which is naturally superstitious, or because Heaven wills it so, they are in general very much attached to the missionary fathers, and hold them in great respect; but notwithstanding this, as may be expected, there will be some bold enough to conceive enmity against them, and for this reason military stations, or escorts, become necessary for their protection. Occasionally

a mutinous disposition will be shown, and a whole multitude will declare against the fathers, from which unhappy consequences might arise, did not the different military stations scattered through the country afford a check to such disposition. By means of such cautionary, rather than splendid establishments, these islands were originally subdued, and these in many parts still exist; but the missionaries being very few in number, it often becomes necessary to make a journey of a whole day, when confession or other ecclesiastical rites are to be administered. In addition to this, they are but very poorly paid; for what is one hundred dollars, and two hundred measures of rice, for the maintenance of a Spaniard on these missions?

This very small stipend is insufficient to cover their expenses, and they are exposed to every privation, without the enjoyment of any one comfort. Of all this our magistrates are the cause, many of

them seeking various pretexts for withholding the stipends, and even obliging the fathers to go to the capital to receive them, as I have myself seen. Such is the misery these poor friars undergo, that at times they are compelled to subsist on what is allowed them for their escorts, and live without that protection, rather preferring to be exposed to the insults of those heathens, than to perish through hunger. The military stations are also very thinly scattered, and the loyal Indians very incapable of imposing any restraint on their countrymen.

If what has been expended in vain and fruitless expeditions had been employed in these certain means of civilization, much more progress would have been made. It is true that we never can expect such rapid progress as our ancestors made in the conquest, because the Indians are more enlightened. Even the Christian converts persuade them not to be baptized, that

they may avoid the payment of tribute or other imposts. The custom, too, of one tribe revenging the murder of an individual of that tribe upon the tribe of the murderer, very much impedes conversion, and consequently civilization, for from hence results the necessity of the weakest tribes changing their residence, or forming a confederacy with others. In such case Christianity must suffer, for the baptized Indians must always follow the Infidels of their tribe, and be alienated from the fathers, or be exposed to constant hostility. Nothing but the extension of protection, and the gradual dissemination of our religious tenets, will abolish this sanguinary custom. The Christian morality is so salutary in its effects, as to extract vice from every heart, in which it has not taken too deep a root.

On the 15th of May, 1757, the Holy See passed a decree, which put an end to the controversies which existed in the king-

dom of Tonquin, between the Dominicans, Augustines, and other followers of the cross, but it is unimportant to our purpose. Returning to the affairs of Manila. One of the good things which Señor Arandia effected during his administration, was the expulsion of the Chinese. He despatched all these heathens to their own country; and in order to prevent them in future from settling in the Philippines, he appropriated the quarter of St. Fernando for the reception of such Chinese as should come upon commercial pursuits, and who by the regulations established were to reembark in due time, with the exception of such Christians as might be among their number, who were permitted to remain, and apply themselves to the cultivation of the land. The Spaniards who interested themselves in the residence of the Chinese in Manila, represented to the Governor that there would be a want of people to carry on the trade with the islands if they

were expelled; and to obviate this difficulty, he established a company of native Spaniards and Mestizoes for that purpose, which, however, was found very incompetent to the task. The Asiatics being naturally very slothful, and consequently very fond of that kind of employment which procures subsistence without much labour, attain their object by buying and selling such things as are raised here, or imported from the adjacent islands for the consumption of the capital; and as they are poor miserable creatures, each has a very narrow and limited traffic, but there is scarcely one of them who does not employ himself very diligently. This superabundance of petty merchants makes the goods come very dear, because they pass through many hands before they reach those of the consumer, and as they turn but a very small capital, it is necessary they should each make a profit adequate to their maintenance; from all which it may be inferred,

that far from there being too few Chinese in this trade, their number ought to be considerably reduced.

Notwithstanding the wisdom of this measure, Señor Arandia lost much of that esteem in which he had been held, and by this and other means drew on him the odium of the public. By virtue of the full powers with which he was invested by the court, he framed instructions for the chief magistrates in the government of the provinces, in which an open declaration was made against the regular clergy. In the commencement of his authority he had treated the religious orders with due attention, but hurt at the disrespect shewn to him by some individuals, he deprived them by these instructions of their kitchen boys, which the King had granted them ever since the conquest, and of the servants which had been allowed them as sacristans. Not satisfied with these injuries, he made many represenstations against them to his

Majesty, in which he spoke of them with very little decorum, and in his despatches lost no opportunity of vilifying them even in matters not at all connected with their clerical duties. The instructions here alluded to the King had the goodness to disapprove of, as soon as he saw them. With the Royal Audience, likewise, he had a dispute, in consequence of his refusal to allow them military honours during their sittings, unless he himself presided. He imprisoned and commenced a process against the treasurer and comptroller of the royal revenue, and treated them with great severity, because they had communicated information to the court on some points very opposite to his communications on the same subjects. Indefatigable in the discharge of his duty, he formed many projects which he conceived to be of importance to the welfare of the settlement. It was his intention to remove the arsenal of Cavite to Port Lampon. He

ordered a ship to be built in the kingdom of Siam; but, unfortunately, in conducting her to Manila, she put three times into China, and once into Batavia, incurring by this means an enormous expense on the treasury. He proposed to the King various plans for working the iron and gold mines. He abolished the office of Corregidor of Mariveles, uniting Marigondon and other small towns to the district of Cavite, and forming of the towns on the opposite coast, and of others belonging to Pampanga, the district which we call Batan. He introduced many regulations among the troops, and for the better management of the royal revenue and the affairs of the Acapulco ship, giving on all occasions many proofs of his zeal for his Majesty's service, with which he appeared animated, perhaps, to a degree of enthusiasm; and which having been mismanaged by his favourite, Señor Orendain, had been the cause of his being universally

disliked. All these objects occasioned so much fatigue to Arandia that he became incapable of any kind of business, and such a rapid decline in his vital powers took place, that on the 31st of May, 1759, apprehending his approaching death, he took all the sacraments, and expired the following day at two o'clock in the morning. He left a property to the amount of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and it was difficult to conceive how he had amassed so much money in the short period of five years, during which his government lasted; but at the hour of his death he distributed his property, like a pious man and a Christian.

On the death of Arandia, Señor Espelata, Bishop of Zebu, entered, *ad interim*, upon the government; and shortly after there arrived at Manila the new Archbishop, Don Manuel Roxo, native of Tala, in the kingdom of New Spain. His Majesty had promoted him from the Vicar

Generalship of Mexico to this See, ordering him to be consecrated in New Spain. He took possession of his charge on the 22d of July, 1759, and immediately preferred his claim to hold the military government of the islands, which he contended belonged to him by royal order. The four Oidors were divided in opinion; the Señores Calderon and Davila thinking the Archbishop in the right, and the Senores Villacorta and Galban being of a different way of thinking. While in the hall discussing this subject, Espelata entered, delivered his sentiments with firmness and resolution, and to intimidate them prepared the artillery, and put the troops under arms. This determined conduct induced the Oidors and the Archbishop to give up the point, and the Bishop of Zebu remained in quiet possession. The first thing he did was to revoke many orders of Señor Arandia, and to make some arrangements for checking the Moors, who, since

the year 1754, had been ravaging our provinces with impunity. But what occupied the public attention most in his time was the cause of Doctor Orendain. The doctor was accused of being the cause of Arandia's mismanagement of public affairs, and that the Royal Fiscal, Señor Viana, had been by his suggestion confined to his house. Orendain, either through remorse of conscience, or because he dreaded some attempt against his person, took refuge in the Augustine convent at Tondo. As the doctor was treasurer of the Cruzada, the Royal Fiscal took up the idea that his voluntary retreat into a sanctuary indicated his being in debt to the Royal revenue, and on this ground he was taken from his asylum, imprisoned in Fort Santiago, and Señor Villa Corta was ordered to proceed against him. It was found that he had secreted many valuable effects in the convents; but whilst they were employed in this scrutiny, he escaped from

the fortress dressed in woman's clothes, going out in a coach, without being recognized by the guard, and took refuge in the Franciscan convent. Villa Corta had recourse to the Vicar General for an order to take him out, which being refused on three different applications, a notary and some troops were sent to take him by force. The Vicar General declared Villa Corta excommunicated, and issued handbills to that effect. This gentleman had recourse to the Royal Audience, who ordered the Vicar General to absolve him, which he did by means of the Curate of the cathedral, but only in a temporary way, and for the space of thirty days; that is, that if in thirty days the defendant did not return within the pale of the church, the excommunication would again be in force. Señor Villa Corta protested against the conduct of the Vicar General, and so entangled was this cause, that the Judges opposed each other, and even Calderon

and Davila were opposed by the King's Solicitor, who had received briefs on the occasion, and the point remained undetermined, some being unwilling to undertake it, and others entertaining opposite opinions upon it. Such was the position of Orendain's business when the royal despatches arrived, in which the Archbishop was appointed Governor *ad interim*, in consequence of the death of Señor Arandia. He took the baton of government in the year 1761, and determined this famous cause, ordering Orendain to be set at liberty, all his property to be restored to him, and imposing on all perpetual silence on the subject. For this decision Orendain was indebted to his being treasurer of the Cruzada, and his Majesty was satisfied with the issue of the business. The Archbishop administered public affairs rather with the paternal solicitude of a father than the rigour of a Governor, composing all individual differences, and extending

his friendly care even to the King of Jolo, who lived in the fortress under considerable privations. He removed him to a house in Manila, decently fitted up, and allowed him a carriage and a sufficiency of domestics for his service. In addition to this, he was desirous of re-establishing him on the throne; and having taken the opinion of the principal persons of Manila, it was determined that he should be re-conducted to Jolo, with his son Israel, and that he should have a Spanish guard with him, in order that the chiefs of his island might not oblige him to abjure the Catholic faith, which he had embraced under the name of Fernando. Just at the period of putting all this in execution the English appeared before the place, but the importance of this event renders it necessary to be treated of in distinct chapters.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the Siege of Manila by the English, in the Year 1762.

THE courts of England and Spain had declared war in the month of November, 1761, but nothing of this was known at Manila, although there were reasons for our being in some degree on our guard. A priest, who held a correspondence with the English on the coast, received information of an expedition which was preparing there, and Father Quadrado, an Augustine, received a letter from his father by way of China, which informed him of the commencement of hostilities with the English; but as it was private intelligence, and not confirmed, those who had gone on their different pursuits to Canton and Ba-

tavia paid no attention to it. On the 14th of September, 1762, an English vessel appeared in the bay, which would not admit our officers on board, and having made soundings all over the bay, sailed again by the point of Mariveles.

The Mahhicas Indians informed us they had seen a large ship of two tiers of guns, and manned with white men, the captain of which had put many questions to them respecting the ships which traded to New Spain. In Manila it was generally believed this ship was not in search of the Philippine Islands, but was on its passage home to Europe, and as it was near the commencement of the winter season, that she was making all despatch to save the monsoon. It afterwards appeared, however, that an English fleet had sailed from Madras the beginning of August for the express purpose of taking Manila, and which was to rendezvous at the island of Luban in case of separation, and which

actually did take place in consequence of a gale of wind, which obliged one English frigate to put into Canton, and delayed the arrival of two others eight days after the rest of the squadron appeared in our bay.

On the 22d of September, at half past five in the afternoon, a fleet was discovered, consisting of thirteen sail, and notwithstanding he was thus taken by surprize, the Governor immediately adopted every needful measure of defence, and sent reinforcements to Cavite. While preparations were thus making for the reception of an enemy, an officer was despatched with a letter to the commanding officer of the squadron, demanding to know who he was, and what motive he had for entering the harbour. The following day, in the morning, two English officers landed, and brought the answer of Admiral Cornish, who commanded the squadron, and Brigadier-General Draper, who commanded the

troops, stating, that they had orders from the King of Great Britain to take possession of these islands, and they demanded an immediate surrender, for if any resistance were made, having a force sufficiently formidable to attain the object in view, they should commence hostilities as soon as they received an unfavourable reply. The Governor answered, that the proposition they had made could not be accepted by subjects faithful to their allegiance, and that they were ready to lose their lives in the defence of the honour of their Sovereign. The squadron, in consequence, approached near the south front of the powder manufactory, and about six in the afternoon they took possession of that redoubt, in which our people had left some saltpetre, and other effects, having only had time to remove the powder. Supported by the fire of the squadron, they took possession successively of the churches of Malate, La Hermita, San Juan de Bagunbayan, and

Santiago, and of all the houses in those suburbs of Manila.

Two piquet guards made a sortie, but not being able to sustain the heat of the enemy's fire from the church of Santiago, they were obliged to retire.

If our troops had, in the first instance, opposed the landing of the enemy, they possibly might have repulsed them, for they effected it in the day-time, when the sea ran high, and there was a very great surf, which occasioned the loss of one of the launches, carrying an eighteen pounder, with the whole of her crew. The other launches landed their troops, the water breast high, carrying their muskets and cartouch boxes on their heads; and under these disadvantages two hundred reached the shore, who immediately drew up in line, covering the landing of the rest. If under these circumstances they had been attacked, what might not have been expected from the gallantry of our troops?

But our numbers were so insignificant, that they were no more than adequate to the defence of the walls. The whole force in Manila consisted of the King's regiment, which was so reduced by death and desertion, and by different detachments in the galleons and garrisons, that they could scarcely muster five hundred and fifty men, of which the artillery consisted of eighty, most of them Indians, very little accustomed to the use of great guns.

On the arrival of the English, four companies of militia were formed from among the merchants, and a few days after five thousand Indians came to our aid, who not knowing how to handle a musket were of very little use. The English had one thousand five hundred European troops, consisting of Draper's regiment, two companies of artillery, three thousand seamen, eight hundred seapoy fusileers, and one thousand four hundred seapoy pioneers, making in

all a force of six thousand eight hundred and thirty men. How was it possible to resist such a force, and think of preventing it from disembarking?

On the following day, the 24th, our batteries of San Diego and San Andres commenced their fire, but with very little effect, the enemy being under cover of a church. The same day arrived a galley, which had been despatched by the commander of the Philipino, Acapulco ship, which had put into Palapag. As soon as the enemy perceived this galley, they despatched a light frigate and four shallops in chase, when perceiving itself pursued, it bore up for Navotas, where it was run on shore, and the crew quitted it, leaving on board only the captain and some passengers, who were made prisoners. Not being able to get off the galley, the English set it on fire, after stripping it of every thing valuable. Those who escaped informed the Governor that the Philipino was at

Palapag, and that the captain was desirous of measures being adopted, without loss of time, for securing the treasure she had on board.

The English likewise, by means of the despatches they had taken in the galley, got information of the situation of the Philipino, and sent off that night a ship of the line and a frigate in quest of her; but instead of her they fell in with the Trinidad, which had just arrived on that part of the coast in her route to Acapulco, and of which they made a prize, with her valuable cargo. Contenting themselves with this, they gave the Philipino an opportunity of putting her treasure on shore, thus preserving what proved our only resource during this war, as we shall see afterwards. In the night a sortie was made from the fort, with a view to dislodge the enemy from the churches, in which they had strongly established themselves. The command of this sortie was given to Mon-

sieur Faller, a Frenchman, who had served in Manila. He sallied out with two four-pounder field pieces, and the requisite number of artillerymen, fifty fusileers of the regulars, a few militia, and eight hundred Indians, armed with lances. He attacked the enemy at his quarters, and the action lasted the whole night; but observing that the English received fresh succours, he withdrew his people towards the church of San Juan de Bagunbayan, from which he kept up a fire against the church of Santiago until the following morning; and from thence, by means of a reinforcement which was sent him from the fort, he was enabled to make good his retreat. This sortie could be considered only as an empty vaunt, for how could they flatter themselves, with a handful of men, with dislodging the English from the churches, which may be considered, in fact, like so many castles, having such immensely thick walls of square stone? Faller by this at-

tempt incurred the charge of treason, however unjustly.

The artillery now began to play incessantly on both sides; the enemy did some injury to the buildings with their bombardment, and some eighteen-inch shells were picked up in the fort quite entire, and returned to them in their own camp. At night we used charges of canister shot, and kept up a brisk fire of musketry, which produced some effect, for the next day we perceived many of their dead between the esplanade and their trenches.

On the morning of the 27th, at eight o'clock, some Indians and Mestizoes, without having any orders to that effect, presented themselves before the advanced guards of the English camp, fell upon them, and drove them from their posts, but a reinforcement of three hundred men arriving, the advantage was lost, and the Indians repulsed, to whom a signal was made to leave the field open, in order that

the artillery might play upon the enemy. During this action, an English officer was seen approaching with a white flag, accompanied by a youth in negro's dress, and beating the chamade on his drum: our artillery suspended their fire, but the Indians attacking the English officer, murdered him and the boy who accompanied him.

The youth in the negro dress turned out to be a nephew of the Archbishop, whom the English had made prisoner, in the galley which they took at Navotas, and the officer was bringing him to deliver him up to his uncle. On the morning of the 28th, a letter was received from the English general, demanding peremptorily the head of the officer who fell on this occasion, the body having, the evening before, been found without the head. He demanded also the author of this atrocious act, with a threat that if he was not delivered up, he would send the heads of all the prisoners in his possession. The Go-

vernor replied to this demand by exculpating himself from the act, pleading the uncivilized customs of the Indians, and throwing the blame principally on the seapoys, who did not discontinue their fire on our people even whilst the officer was advancing with the prisoner.

The bombardment now continued with vigour. The enemy had, in the commencement of the siege, placed three mortars behind the church of Santiago, to which they added another battery of three more mortars, which threw the whole city into consternation. On the 29th they fired against the houses of the Governor and Admiral, but without effect; the shot which were fired horizontally reaching only to the beach, and those which they threw by elevation passing over the fort to the other side.

We on our part mounted two mortars in the bulwark of San Diego, from whence were thrown shells against the enemy's

camp. On the 30th, we observed from the fort four shallops overset in the surf, with the crew and troops which they were bringing on shore, and the same accident happened to a sampan; and in the evening a south-wester freshening up, a bomb vessel foundered which was advancing against the place. The wreck of this vessel was discovered near Pasay, of which the Indians gave information the day following, and the Governor despatched some cavalry to take possession of it; but having arrived on the spot, they were repelled by the enemy's fusileers, who made a sortie from the quarters at Malate in defence of it.

On the 2d of October, at day-break, a battery of eight twenty-four pounders opened against the angle of the foundery bulwark, and by ten in the morning the whole of the parapet was a ruin. The enemy at the same time directed their shells against that battery from nine mor-

tars of various calibres, assisted by the fire of two ships in front; and so hot was the fire, that we picked up four thousand balls of twenty-four pounds. But what incommoded the place most was the fusileers, who could see from the tower and church of Santiago all that passed in the city, and they could fire as they pleased against its defenders. Notwithstanding such a heavy fire directed against a bulwark without a parapet, only seven men were killed, and about twenty wounded. Our people endeavoured to get possession of the church of Santiago and the artillery, but could not succeed. The ships discontinued their fire about sun-set, but the fire from the camp continued all night, and dismounted the artillery of our bastion, so that it became necessary to abandon it: the same night, or rather in the morning of the 3d, it was resolved that a sortie should be made from the fort. About five thousand Indians had arrived from the pro-

vinces, of which two thousand Pampangos were selected for this undertaking; they were divided into three columns, to advance by different routes; the first, under command of Don Francisco Rodriguez, was to attack the church of Santiago; the second, commanded by Don Santiago Orendain, was ordered to throw itself upon Malate and Hermita; and the third was to attack the troops on the beach, and was commanded by Eslava y Bastos; the whole to be supported by two piquets of fusileers. The Indians were no sooner on the outside of the fort than they began a loud outcry, which prepared the enemy for their reception; and when the column commanded by Rodriguez arrived near the English camp, the Indians hesitated to advance; but being urged on by the famous Manalastas, their chief, they proceeded, and finding the church of Santiago abandoned, they ascended the tower, and began to ring the bells; but the peals were of very short

duration, for the English fell upon them, and scarcely allowed them time to retreat.

The other column, which was ordered to advance on Hermita, marched with the utmost silence until Orendain gave them orders to attack, when they began with their accustomed howlings and beating of their drums, and thus threw the English camp into complete disorder. The English general put his troops under arms, and commenced a fire on the Pampangas, who were speedily put to flight, and their confusion was so great that every shot told. Two hundred were left dead on the field, and Orendain clapping spurs to his horse, was very soon out of all personal danger. From this time forward he was considered as a traitor, and after Manila was delivered up to the English, many were the more inclined to believe this, as he was much seen with the English, although nothing was actually proved against him. The third column was more fortunate, as, with-

out having done or received any damage they retired with more honour than the rest. This action, however, so intimidated the Indians, that they almost all retreated to their towns. The fire from the battery did not cease during all this time, and demolished the whole face and platform of the works of the foundery, whose ruins filled up the fosse; but what caused the greatest uneasiness was a battery which the enemy had constructed, and which, at twelve o'clock at noon, was opened against the works of San Andres and San Eugenio, and so hot was the fire, that in two hours the guns were dismounted from their carriages, the parapets thrown down, and several fusileers and workmen killed, and though new parapets were twice replaced with timber and bags of sand, they were immediately demolished. The Governor held a council of war that same evening, at which were present the staff officers, the Royal Audience, the deputies of the

city, and the prelates. The military men gave their opinion for a capitulation, the rest were for obstinately continuing the defence, availing themselves of the usual methods of repairing the works. Orders were accordingly given to this effect, but they could not be put in execution, as the few Indians who remained would not undertake such dangerous work, and the Spaniards could not support the fatigue.

On the morning of the 4th the enemy began to throw carcases into the fort; they set fire to some buildings, and the soldiers and inhabitants of Manila were in the greatest consternation. In this state of things, Monsieur Faller went to the Governor, and endeavoured to induce him to capitulate, but as he had already incurred the charge of being a traitor in the first sortie which he made against the English, and the suspicion had been increased from the circumstance of his going to the enemy's camp with a present from the Governor to

the English Commander in Chief, the Oidors would not permit him to have a voice in the matter, suspecting his fidelity. On this account, when the English left this for the peninsula, he was obliged to accompany them, from the apprehension that at Manila they would institute some suit against him. At one o'clock in the afternoon of this day, the English troops presented themselves before the lines, showing a very extensive front. The grenadiers were somewhat advanced, and in position to make the assault. The town on this became in complete confusion, and many inhabitants, with the clergy, seeing that no capitulation was in agitation, determined to quit the city, which they could easily do, as the guard of the Parian-gate was composed of the town's people of Manila. The English maintained their threatening position for some time, and retiring without making any further attempt, the inhabitants resumed their tranquillity, and

thought no more of capitulation. On the night of the 4th the fire of the enemy was terrible from the artillery, the mortars and small arms by land, and principally from the roof of the church of St. Jago, until two o'clock in the morning, when it ceased, and was not resumed. From the commencement of the siege they had thrown more than twenty thousand balls, five thousand shells, and twenty-five carcases, which ruined a great many buildings in the city, and set it on fire in five different places. We cannot account for this otherwise than that the English, to give more splendor and value to their conquest, resolved on such an enormous expenditure of powder and ball, for much less would have sufficed to take a place which was only in a state to defend itself against Asiatic nations, and not against Europeans.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the Capture of Manila by the English, and its Capitulation.

THE suspension of the enemy's fire appeared to the Spaniards a favourable omen, instead of its being considered as a prelude to an important operation, and no one entertained an idea of capitulation except Monsieur Faller, who had waited on the Governor at an early hour, and endeavoured to persuade him to that measure. He there found the Oidor Señor Galban, who opposed it strenuously, and while they were in the midst of a warm dispute on the subject, intelligence arrived that the enemy had entered the city. In fact the

English general had despatched in the night forty Frenchmen, of those he had made prisoners in Pondicherry, with orders to fill up the ditch with the ruins of the works, to examine the breach effectually, clear the way as much as possible, and give due notice of their progress. They performed all this to his entire satisfaction, for there was no one to interrupt them, and about six in the morning they made the signal that all was ready; upon which four hundred men were despatched under the command of Major Fell, who not being able to mount the breach in line on account of its steep ascent, they effected it with shouldered arms, and in such order as they could, apprehending nothing but the springing of mines; for such silence and tranquillity, in a place assaulted in breach, must have appeared incredible, except as the result of stratagem. Meeting with no opposition, Major Fell divided his troops, ordering one half by the curtain of the sea,

and the other towards the royal gate, where the guard was very quietly enjoying their ease until the centinel gave the alarm, which was immediately followed by a volley. Thus surprised, they all took to their heels, and the English redoubling their pace, they overtook the stragglers, and not one of them escaped. A detachment filed off from the wall, and opened the royal gate for those British troops to enter, which approached in that direction. General Draper entered with his column, with two field-pieces in front, which, with the incessant fire of the musketry, completely cleared the Calle Real as they advanced. The same mode of attack was observed by the two columns, which enfiladed by the city walls, with this precaution, that in turning the corners of the streets, or public edifices, a temporary halt was made to observe if there were any of our troops at hand. The city continued in such a state of consternation, that the major part of the

people thought of nothing but escaping, and as the gates were shut, they climbed over the wall by the side of the river, at a place which offered every facility, and by embarking in boats or swimming, they escaped to the other side. One of the English columns marching along the wall, when it arrived at this spot, saw a great many people passing over the river, or waiting to embark, and discharging a volley at them, made very great slaughter. General Draper advanced through the Calle Real as far as the palace with considerable risk, for in Fort Santiago there was a field-piece which commanded the whole street, and being loaded with canister shot, might have swept down immense numbers; but the Archbishop, who had retired to this fort with the Oidors, would not allow them to fire it, apprehending that the English would afterwards revenge themselves on the inhabitants of Manila. Colonel Monson, despatched by Draper,

presented himself at the fort, intimating, on the part of his general, that the surrender of the place was expected. The Archbishop presented him a paper, containing the terms of capitulation which he proposed, and requested him to be the bearer of them to his commanding officer for his approbation. The Colonel declined so doing, having no orders to that effect, and threatened that hostilities should proceed if he did not immediately surrender. The Archbishop seeing no other remedy, and taking the word of honour of the Colonel for his personal safety, resolved to leave the fort, and accompanied by the Colonel of the Spanish troops to present himself to the English general, who was by this time in the palace. On his arrival there he was about to kneel, but the General, Draper, would not permit him. He then delivered himself up as a prisoner, and presented the paper, which contained the terms of capitulation, and which chiefly consisted

in the free exercise of our religion, the security of private property, a free trade to all the inhabitants of the islands, and the continuation of the powers of the Royal Audience, to keep order among the ill disposed.

The English General retired to consult on these points, and very shortly returned an answer accordingly to all of them, with certain restrictions and additions, which were suggested on the part of his Britannic Majesty, and the capitulation thus arranged was signed by the General Draper and his Excellency the Archbishop. The Colonel took it to the fort, in order to have it counter-signed by the Oidors, which being done, they immediately delivered up the fort to the English, and retired to the palace to pay their respects to the conqueror. When the enemy's ships perceived the British flag displayed on the fort, they made a most tremendous and

confused noise, by repeated cheering, and in the midst of it a nephew of Admiral Cornish, in his attempt to reach Manila, was overset on the bar. This expedition cost the English more than a thousand men, if the diary of the Archbishop may be credited, which says, "They have not been able to ascertain exactly the number of killed on the part of the enemy; it is only known by the circumstance, that in reviewing the troops two days after the taking of the place, the enemy missed more than a thousand men, of which number sixteen were officers. Among these was the first major of the regiment of Draper, who died of a wound by an arrow, which he received on the day of the assault, and the commandant of the regiment of Chamal, who was killed by a musket shot while reconnoitring with a glass from the tower of Santiago. The vice-admiral was drowned coming on shore in a boat." On our part,

a major, two captains, two subalterns, and fifty soldiers of the regulars, with thirty militia, fell.

Before they delivered up the city to plunder, the English general ordered all the Indians to be sent away. These consisted of such as had been collected from the country for the defence of the place, and of servants or others, who, in the general confusion, found themselves under no control, and were committing great excesses throughout the different divisions of the city.

At the request of the Archbishop, guards were placed at the convent of Santa Clara, and the other nunneries, to prevent the soldiers from committing any outrages on them. These dispositions being made, the city was delivered up to pillage, and the soldiers spreading themselves over the town, plunder and robbery became general, and was accompanied by those

atrocities which are usual with victorious troops, although, to say the truth, there was no reason to complain of the English soldiers, as they were sufficiently moderate, in comparison to what generally takes place on such occasions. The Indians were much worse than they, for they discovered where the riches of their masters lay, in order that they might participate in the plunder. The Indians, who had been sent out of the town, with those who lived in the suburbs, and the prisoners whom the English had the imprudence to liberate from the prisons, spread themselves through the quarters of Santa Cruz and Binondoc, and exercising all the rights of conquerors, plundered them, murdered all that resisted, ravished the women, and committed every species of atrocity; but the greatest cruelties were exercised upon the highways on an infinite number of people, who, flying without knowing wherefore,

fell into the hands of these banditti, and were with impunity murdered for the sake of what they possessed.

The time allowed to plunder was only three hours, but the following day it continued as at first, which the Archbishop representing to the English, and intreating them to have some compassion on the miserable city, the General gave orders that those found pillaging should be punished with death, and actually some Chinese were hanged. General Draper himself killed one, whom he found in the act of robbery, and he ordered that every thing that had been taken from the churches should ber estored; but some priests' vestments only were found, in which the seapoys having dressed themselves, had paraded through the town. On the 6th of October, the English presented to the Archbishop and magistrates the capitulation, duly arranged, and among other things they required that Cavite should be de-

livered up to them. The Spaniards agreed to this, but the commanding officer of the castle not being of that opinion, was determined to hold it. The Archbishop sent the major of that garrison, who had been made prisoner at Manila, with orders to surrender the fort, as the English had shut the gates of Manila, and put their troops under arms, threatening to murder all the Spaniards if Cavite was not given up, and the other articles of the capitulation fulfilled, which the Archbishop had acceded to. The major went accordingly to Cavite, openly declaring that it was to be delivered up to the English: he presented his despatches to the commanding officer, who called a council of war, but on being informed that the troops had quitted their posts, and that the Indians were plundering the arsenal, he embarked in a vessel, and left the major to make the surrender.

The British also demanded in their terms of capitulation a contribution of four

millions of dollars: this proposition made to a city which had been just delivered up to a plunder of upwards of twenty-four hours was tyrannical; but as our people perceived they were at the mercy of the conquerors, they at last consented to make up two millions in specie, and draw bills on the royal treasury at Madrid for the other two millions.

They immediately began to make contributions on the inhabitants; and the result was, that with all the silver which the pious establishments could furnish, together with the ornaments of the churches, and the Archbishop's wrought plate, including his rings and breast cross, they could only make up the sum of five hundred and forty-six thousand dollars. The English officer intimated that he would be satisfied with one million down, and that the rest should be drawn from the cargo of the Philipino, in case it should prove that the English had not got possession of her pre-

vious to the day on which the capitulation was signed; even one million, however, could not be raised. The day before the capture of Manila, a royal messenger had been despatched with one hundred and eleven thousand dollars, with orders to secure the money in some place of safety near the Lake Bay. The Archbishop being hard pressed to make up the million, sent orders to the Marquisses of Villamediana and Monte Castro to bring that money to Manila. But on this being intimated to the Franciscan friars, who, in fact, governed that part of the country, they armed the Indians, and compelled the officer who had it in charge to convey the money to the province of Pampanga, furnishing him with Indians to carry it, who took it over the mountains, and succeeded in securing it from the English, lodging it in safety with the missionaries of Ytuy, bordering on Pampanga, Cagayan, and Pangasinan. In the end, every thing of value which

could be discovered, either public or private property, was delivered up to the English, but notwithstanding there was much discontent and misunderstanding on this subject.

The principal feature in the capitulation was the surrender of the whole of these islands to the English, an article in it which the Archbishop and Oidors were compelled by circumstances to accede to, though reluctantly; but this was not so easily accomplished, as Señor Anda was charged with the defence of them, and he was not disposed to submit without an appeal to arms. General Draper being informed of this, thought himself justified in availing himself of stratagem. He issued a proclamation, in which he commiserated the fate of the Indians, on account of the tribute which they paid to the Spaniards, giving the assurance that the King of Great Britain would not exact it of them, and thus endeavouring to excite them to open

rebellion. He then persuaded the Archbishop that he was the proper Governor, and as such got him to despatch an escort, to induce the Spanish families, who had taken refuge in the provinces, to return to Manila, and to appoint an Englishman as Corregidor of Tondo, who had been some time married and established in Manila. General Draper treated the religious orders with much respect, and granted permission to the monks to return to their convents, in order to draw over to his interest this body, which, from what the Franciscans had done, he judged must have great influence in the interior of the country. Above all things, he was desirous of bringing over to his views the Friar Francisco Remigio Hernandez, who was at the head of the Augustines in the provinces, in consequence of the recent death of the provincial. He pressed him repeatedly by letters to come to Manila, but he could not succeed, that father adhering firmly to his

first answer, in which he told him, that if he had any thing to communicate to him, he might do it in writing. As General Draper saw that no progress was made in this way, he ordered the Archbishop to assemble a congress of the principal people of the city, and to propose to them the cession of all the islands to his Britannic Majesty; but Señor Viana, the royal fiscal, opposed it most strenuously. The day following, however, in consequence of threats held out by the English, the Spaniards had the weakness to sign this cession. Monsieur Faller, who had been suspected of treason, conducted himself more honourably, as he would on no account accept the government of Zamboanga, where the English commander wished to send him with a sufficiency of troops to take possession, in case they were unwilling to receive him; and a similar conduct was observed by a poor but honourable Spaniard, named Don Louis Sandobal.

Unsuccessful in his plans, the English general resolved to return to Europe. He left Major Fell as military commander, and Drake as governor, with Smith and Brock as council. Breton was left in charge of Cavite. When on the point of embarking, he gave orders for two frigates to be despatched in search of the treasure on board of the Philipino, and that the Oidor Villa Costa, and the royal Fiscal, should embark in them, in order that their influence might be exerted in attaining the object; but on the intimation being conveyed to them they both declined it, and were in consequence imprisoned. At the request of the Archbishop, Draper afterwards gave them their liberty, and named in their room two merchants and two regidores. The frigates sailed, but were very long in making the island of Capul, where an English Jesuit was the residing priest. The currents and foul winds contributed much to retard the expedition, but seeing them de-

termined to prosecute their voyage, and insisting that a pilot should be given them for that purpose, threatening they would raise all the Indians in case of refusal, a Meztizo, in whom the Spaniards could confide, was sent for that purpose, but he was enjoined to detain the frigates in the harbour mouth as long as possible. So well did the Meztizo fulfil the charge given to him by the Jesuit father, that they had time to save the treasure in the provinces of Albay and Camarines, the galleys which conveyed it passing in view of the enemy's frigates, which, however, soon lost sight of them in a squall. The English commander, suspecting the plate to be placed out of his reach, and in safety, returned to Manila, where he was ill received by his commanding officer.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Defence of the Islands by the Oidor, Don Simon de Anda.

On the day before the capture of Manila, Señor Anda quitted the city, with the title of visitor and lieutenant governor, in order to maintain the islands in obedience to the King of Spain. He arrived at Bulacan with forty orders under the royal seal, which were the only supply of arms and money with which he was furnished, as the treasure had been sent to the Lake Bay. As soon as it was known in Bulacan that the English were in possession of Manila, he summoned a meeting, at which were present the Father Hernandez, who filled the office of provincial of St. Augustine, the chief magistrates of the province, and other Spaniards and Augustine friars, and

laying before them the resolutions of the Royal Audience, and the authority with which he was furnished by the Governor to defend the islands, he at the same time adverted to the insufficiency of their force to make resistance to the English. They highly praised all the measures of the Royal Audience and the Governor of Manila, and promised to spill the last drop of their blood rather than forsake him. The monks offered to raise troops in the towns for the service, and conduct them to the field. He gave them thanks for their loyalty, and thinking that the title of visitor appeared of too little importance for the undertaking he was upon, he declared himself under the necessity of having recourse to certain old established regulations, which ordain that the Royal Audience may be preserved in the person of one Oidor, and in case of a vacancy in the government seat, that the Royal Audience may take the government, and the oldest Oidor command the mili-

tary, unless any other arrangement should be made by his Majesty. And on this occasion the other Oidors and Governor being prisoners of war, and dead in the eye of the law, all these offices fell of necessity on him. He accordingly got himself acknowledged as Governor of the islands, in which capacity, joined to the office of Royal Audience, he circulated his orders to the different alcaldes and ecclesiastical superintendants of missions, no one, in the smallest degree, questioning his authority.

Señor Anda fixed his residence, and the seat of government, at the town of Bacolor, the capital of the province of Pampanga, where he sent the Augustine friars, accompanied by some troops, some fugitives from Manila, and some Indian militia: the friars were directed to watch over the tranquillity and security of the provinces of Pampanga and Bulacan. Had the English then despatched a small detachment for the purpose, they would have

got possession of those two provinces; but General Draper was not disposed to think the acquisition of these islands an object of such difficult attainment as to require such prompt measures.

The British council left by General Draper in Manila followed his plans, and convening a meeting of the principal inhabitants of the city, Señor Anda was declared by this assembly a seditious person, and deserving of capital punishment. The same censure extended to the Marquis of Monte Castro, who having been allowed his parole of honour, had not returned at the appointed time, and likewise to the provincial of Sant Augustine, who had joined the party of Señor Anda: all the Augustine friars too were declared traitors. At this meeting much discussion took place on the subject of making up the deficiency of the million in specie which had been stipulated for, but the Spaniards replied, that with what had been taken in

the Trinidad, which, according to the articles of capitulation, was not to be deemed a prize, the amount had been made good, and the religious establishments pleaded that they had been stripped of all their valuables.

The English council forcibly recommended, that the friars should impress upon the Indians the necessity of peaceable conduct under the novelty of their situation, as otherwise their interference with them would be totally interdicted. But the prior of St. Augustine being urged to use his influence with the friars of Bulacan and Pampanga, answered, that they were not under his authority, but under the provincial, who was his superior. For this guarded reply he was ordered to be confined in his convent; and although he in person represented to the council that he ought not to be considered as a prisoner of war, having come to Manila under a protection granted by them, they refused

to listen to him; but ordered him to be escorted back to his convent with bayonets fixed, leaving a guard to prevent his quitting it.

The English perceiving that decrees were of very little service, and that it was necessary to have recourse to force, determined to take possession of a position on the Pasig, in order to open a passage for provisions from the Lake Bay; and Thomas Backhouse, whom the Spaniards called Becus for that purpose, filed off with five hundred men to the left of the river. He arrived in front of Maybonga, where the famous Bustos was stationed with his Cagayans, ready to defend the passage of the river. He fired upon the first English party that advanced, but as soon as they returned it, he retired to Maraquina with his people. The enemy passed the river without hesitation, and sent an officer with a white flag, to summons the Indians to surrender. The boasting little Governor an-

swered, that the Pasig was not Manila, and if the Spaniards had given that up to them in a treacherous manner, he would defend his post to the last; adding, that should the officer return with the white flag (a trick he might deceive children with), he would hang him on the first tree. This reply being reported to Backhouse, he immediately ordered the troops to march, and the two field-pieces he had with him beginning to play, the Indians became alarmed to such a degree, that they fled precipitately. Such, indeed, was their hurry and confusion at the bridge near the convent, that numbers of them were drowned.

The English got possession of the convent without resistance, and pursued the Indians as if they had been a flock of goats as far as the river Bamban, which they swam over, at least all those who had the good fortune to escape the enemy's bullets. The King of Jolo, attempting to

defend a post occupied by his family, was obliged to surrender. The English fortified this post, and maintained themselves in it till the peace.

By this time Señor Anda had collected some troops, which he was enabled to maintain with the money which had been saved in Pampanga. Bustos, in the capacity of his lieutenant-general, paraded the province of Bulácan, making an ostentatious display of the power of Señor Anda; and the Pampangan Indians, commanded by a Franciscan and an Augustine friar, advanced to Maysilo, about two leagues distance from Manila, idly expecting that Bustos would support them under all circumstances. The English sallied out to dislodge them; and our Indians formed an ambuscade, in which they hoped to succeed by counterfeiting death, when it was said that many of the enemy fell; but a friar asserted, that by means of a glass he had observed from the Tambobon tower

that the Indians only let fly their arrows, and immediately made the best of their way. Certain it is that the English burnt Maysilo, and re-entered Manila with their field-pieces, without any diminution of their numbers.

The Augustine friars still remained prisoners in their convents, although sometimes permitted to leave them, but restricted within the walls of the city. A counter order, however, was very unexpectedly issued, depriving them of that indulgence. It was thought that the English had recourse to this method, to compel them to deliver up the money, which, it was said, they had secreted. Persevering, however, in their firmness, they were accused of a participation in the plans of the Augustine friars of Pampanga, who favoured the views of Anda, and twelve of them were embarked for Europe, of whom, however, one was liberated at the request of the Archbishop.

The remaining friars being embarked, the English entered the convent, and stripped it of every valuable. They found six thousand dollars in coin in the garden, together with the wrought silver they had hid during the treaty for the million. The reliques of the Saints even were not spared, and were torn down, in order to carry off the cases which contained them. Before the vessels sailed in which the friars were embarked, the British commander determined upon an expedition against Bulacan, in the expectation that this would finaly close the undertaking, and enable him to sail for Bombay and England. The convent of Bulacan was in some respect fortified with three small guns and six falconetes, and there were in it some artillerymen, and many Indians with bows and arrows. It was the object of the English, of course, to dislodge these troops, for which purpose a squadron sailed on the 18th of January, 1763, under the com-

mand of Captain Eslay, of the grenadiers, who arrived with about six hundred men, ready for action, many of them Chinese, who followed the English. Their intention was to enter the bar of Binoangan, but being prevented by contrary winds, they proceeded to that of Pumarava, close to Malolos. The following day they arrived there, and coasting for two leagues by the marshes they arrived at Malolos, where they effected the landing without any impediment whatever, for the troops which we had there retired precipitately, the Indians to their houses, and the Spaniards to the convent of Calumpit. Whilst the English were marching to Bulacan, Bustos sallied out to reconnoitre them, and seeing they were superior to him in numbers, he returned to the convent, persuading the alcalde mayor and the Franciscan friar who commanded there, to burn the convent and retire; but unable to succeed in his object, he retreated with his people

The English force arriving in sight of the convent, our people did much mischief by means of a cannon loaded with case-shot; which commanded the street, and as the Chinese composed the vanguard, they alone suffered, and that severely. The English commander ordered his field-pieces to be pointed at this gun; and so correct was the aim, that the head of Ybarra, who commanded there, was carried off, which so appalled the Indians, that they fled in a most tumultuous manner; the consequence of which was, that the gates being forced, the enemy entered sword in hand, and an indiscriminate slaughter took place. The alcalde mayor and the Franciscan friar (who was the head of the clergy there) fell in this action, and of two Augustines one escaped, and the other being taken, was, with all the Indians found in the place, delivered up by the English to the Chinese, who murdered them in cold blood, in revenge for the death of their country-

men during the attack. Having got possession of Bulacan, the English commandant despatched the principal part of his force to Manila, remaining with three hundred seapoys only. Bustos and Eslava advanced against him, and though they brought with them eight thousand men, all Indians, six hundred of whom were cavalry, they were not hardy enough to attempt to dislodge him; and they contented themselves with cutting off his communications, and giving him occasional alarms. The English commandant having sent some small parties against them with little effect, he sallied out in person, with the major part of his people, and made our troops run in a most dastardly manner, under the apprehension that he would pursue them to the province of Pampanga; but he did no more than cut down the underwood, which served as an ambush for the Indians, and then returned to the convent.

Bustos, as soon as the English retired,

returned to occupy his old position; but from this he was a second time dislodged as shamefully as at first. This kind of warfare, however, was very useful; for the English commander, not daring to advance far, obtained permission from the British council to retire from the position, which he executed in an orderly manner, without any interruption from our people, having first burnt the church and convent of Bulacan.

Admiral Cornish now determined to return to the peninsula, but before his departure, he ordered the remaining two millions to be raised and paid in, threatening to give the city, and its suburbs, up to plunder a second time, if his requisition was not complied with. This gave the Archbishop excessive uneasiness, and he did not rest until he persuaded him to take an order on the treasury of Madrid. Señor Anda, in consequence of the death of the alcalde of Bulacap, appointed Bustos

governor of that province, continuing him as his lieutenant-general, and ordering him to raise troops, and teach them the manual exercise, while the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Manila, with the monks, contributed arms, lead, and other articles of war, exciting, at the same time, desertion from the city, and expecting by all these means to enable Anda to form a respectable body of troops, with which he might confine the English to Manila, and possibly drive them out of it. A French serjeant, named Bretaña, favoured much the desertion of the Frenchmen, which the English had brought with them of those they captured in Pondicherry; and he himself having also deserted, Señor Anda made him a captain.

The Spanish regulars, too, who had been made prisoners in Manila, deserted very generally, and at a public entertainment which the English gave, many of them escaped through a small breach in

the fort, whilst the attention of the enemy was otherwise engaged.

In order to check this spirit of desertion, Admiral Cornish confined all the Frenchmen, and the Spanish regulars, to the side of the town next the sea, using every precaution in his power to prevent Señor Anda from receiving any succours from the town and its suburbs. In consequence of these precautions, many were caught in the act of absconding, and friars and secular clergy formed a large portion of the number. In that number were Señor Viana, the fiscal, and Señor Villa Corta. This latter, whilst a prisoner, very incautiously wrote to Señor Anda, and gave a man fifty dollars to convey the letter. The guard intercepted the money and letter; and a council of war was held on him, which sentenced him to be hanged, and his four quarters to be exhibited in the public places. Having accordingly confessed, and prepared himself for his

fate, the Archbishop obtained his pardon, on condition that Señor Anda would retire from Pampanga to another province. The Archbishop and Villa Corta wrote to Señor Anda, supplicating him to accede to the proposal of the English, in order that that magistrate might be saved from the ignominious death which awaited him. He replied to Villa Corta, lamenting his situation, but refusing to accede to his application. To the Archbishop his letter was of so shameful a nature, that the English having perused it, ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman, not permitting the Archbishop to read it.

This mode of saving Villa Corta's life having failed, he availed himself of other means, and for three thousand dollars paid down, the sentence pronounced against him was remitted.

During these transactions in Manila, the commanding officer of Pasig (Back-house) had gone to the provinces of the

Lake and Batangas, in order to intercept the money of the Philipino, which, it was said, was on its way thither. He left his position on the Pasig with eighty mixed troops, arrived at the bar of Tagui, and removing the sampans (which our people had grounded on the bar to prevent his passage), he entered the Great Lake, and proceeded to Tunasan; from whence dislodging the troops which had fortified themselves in the government-house, he plundered it of every thing. He did the same in Biñan and Santa Rosa, where he embarked for Pagsanhan, the capital of the province of the Lake. As soon as our people perceived him, they set fire to the church and convent, and took precipitately to flight. Backhouse returned to Calamba, and entering the province of Batangas, he traversed it completely, making prisoners of some Augustine friars, who had the direction of that province; and in the town

of Lipa he got possession of three thousand dollars, which some Spaniards had secreted there. In this town he took up his quarters, in expectation of the money being landed from the Philipino; but he shortly after understood that it had been secretly ordered away by sea to the opposite coast of Santor, a town of Pampanga, by which precaution the money was saved; and Backhouse, being woefully disappointed of his booty, returned to Pasig. Señor Anda, by the possession of the Philipino's money, was enabled to collect a respectable force; all the Spaniards who had retired from Manila, and lived in misery, enlisting under his banners, to procure pay and subsistence. This force being appointed and rendered effective, he ordered his Lieutenant-General, Bustos, to form a camp at Malinta, a house belonging to the Augustine friars, a league and a half from Manila. The officers took up their quar-

ters in the house, and the soldiers pitched their tents around. This disposition of the encampment being made, to strengthen it some redoubts and palisadoes were constructed by the Serjeant Bretaña, who had been promoted to a company, and was apparently the most intelligent of the whole of them. From this place our people made excursions to the outskirts of Manila, and on one occasion they took the horses from the coach belonging to a dignified clergyman. On another occasion, the English commander himself had nearly been taken by them. One night Bustos sent a piquet guard to get possession of the bells of the town of Quiapo, close to the walls of Manila, in order to be cast into cannon, which were much wanted; and so alarmed were the English, that they sent out one hundred fusileers, and fifty horse, with an immense number of Chinese; but notwithstanding this, after an

action of an hour and a half, the piquet succeeded in bringing off the bells. The English finding themselves very weak, and rather alarmed at these incursions of the troops of Malinta, called in all the piquets which were without the city, and dug ditches, in order to cut off the communication, and have a less extended line to cover; and in a manifesto which they published, ordering the Spaniards to retire within the walls of the city, out of the range of the artillery, which they were obliged to keep playing against these Malinta troops, to prevent their surrounding them, they bestowed on these troops the appellations of canaille and robbers.

On the 19th of May, 1763, Señor Anda published in Bacolor a counter-manifesto, in which he complains that the English put the guns they took in Bulacan under the gallows, in contempt of the magistrate from whom they had taken them; that

they called the King's troops robbers and canaille; that they had promised five thousand dollars for his head, dead or alive; and in consequence of all this, he declared Drake and his colleagues, Smith and Brock, tyrants, common enemies, and unworthy of human society, offering for either of them, alive or dead, ten thousand dollars. The English council replied to all these charges in a manifesto, in which they complain of the conduct of the Spaniards; but as a paper war was of little avail in furnishing them with the provisions they were deprived of by the interruption occasioned by the Malinta troops, they resolved to dislodge Bustos, and with the greatest secrecy despatched three hundred and fifty fusileers, fifty horse, together with a great number of Chinese, to convey the necessary guns and ammunition. The English made this sortie on the 27th of June, and arrived at the river, in front

of our post, before day-break. As soon as our people discovered them they began to form, but before we were prepared the fire with their field-pieces commenced, the Spaniards answering with five small guns, followed up by the musketry; but neither daring to pass the river, they were expending their powder to no purpose until eleven o'clock, when the English retired in good order to the King's house at Maysilo, where they remained until it was understood that Bustos had burnt Malinta house, and removed his camp to Meycavayan. They then retired into Manila in the evening. On our side we had two killed and seven wounded, of which five afterwards died; and of the enemy there were thirteen wounded, of which five or six died afterwards in the hospital. The Indians of Caloocan intercepted some people conveying provisions to the English camp; and another party of Indians made prisoners a party of Chi-

nese, who had strayed for the purpose of plunder. These were the last actions of this war, for on the 23d of July an English frigate arrived with the preliminaries of peace, and a cessation of hostilities of course took place.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the internal Commotions raised by the Indians and Chinese during the War.

THE provinces of Tondo and Cavite, during the war, were in general in a state of tranquillity; submitting patiently to the law of the strongest, but still retaining their bias to the King of Spain. Notwithstanding which, however, many robberies and irregularities occurred, and even murders were perpetrated; for those who had been released so imprudently from prison by the English, joining with others who had been thrown out of employment, or whose inclinations led that way under the shelter of such a convulsed period, committed great atrocities, with impunity, on such Spaniards and Mestees as had

quitted Manila, and were scattered about the towns and country; and these disturbances at last attained such a height, that regular parties were formed, which infested the highways, and plundered the estates, even murdering, in some instances, the poor ignorant peasantry, till eventually this class of people, wearied out by such attacks, abandoned their farms, leaving their cattle and effects in the power of these wretches.

In the province of Batangas, one of the principal inhabitants of the town of San Pablo collecting a body of Chinese and Indians, murdered the friar, in revenge for some supposed injury. Even the commandant of the troops in the town of Rosario, having collected some of those whom the English had liberated from prison, satiated his fury on the resident minister, (who had complained that he was not allowed the number of servants which the King ordered) by setting fire to his house

in the first instance, and murdering him in the act of escaping from the flames.

Another party in this province was commanded by a mulatto, who styled himself a King. His first attack was on Liyan estate, belonging to the Jesuits, upon which were some Spaniards and monks, who made terms with him on his granting them their lives, and delivered up the house to be plundered. Some of his people went to rob the prior of Tanavan, who was an Augustine, and had retired to the granary in order to avoid the English; but finding on him only two rials, they murdered him in a most cruel and wanton manner.

In the province of Lake Bay the Indians made many attacks on the Spaniards, who had retired to that country, particularly on the alcalde mayor, with whom they had before been on very bad terms, and on the monks, because they had favoured the conveyance of the money to Manila, which the Franciscan friars re-

mitted to Señor Anda. The Archbishop issued an order, in which he desired that if the English went into that quarter they might be well treated, and not to make any resistance to them, as, by that conduct, less mischief would be done. The alcalde sent this order over the mountains to Pagsanhan, but the officer commanding there issued a counter-order to that of the alcalde, designating him as a traitor, who wanted to deliver up the province to the English. The alcalde being informed of this, contrived to put him in confinement, and had him publicly whipped under the gallows. This enraged the Indians, and collecting in considerable numbers, they attacked and ill treated the alcalde's family; they killed his cousin, his son in law, and a German who lived with him, and they took the alcalde himself to the gallows, where, after flogging him most cruelly, they stabbed him to death.

The aggressors presented themselves

before Señor Anda, suing for pardon for this offence; and he not deeming this a proper season to show due severity, let the matter pass unnoticed.

The provinces of Bulacan and Pampanga firmly adhered to their allegiance, and, indeed, were the only districts on which the Spaniards could place reliance, although there were not wanting some malicious spirits, who, taking advantage of the times, by menaces extorted money, robbed and plundered the estates, and even murdered a poor Dominican, who resided at Pandi. These, however, were the crimes of individuals, and not chargeable on the body of the people: it may therefore be said, that these provinces, which were in the immediate neighbourhood of Manila, were tranquil, and preserved their allegiance to the Spaniards.

Although the Señor Arandia had sent away all the Pagan Chinese, others replaced them after his death, and the aug-

mentation of their numbers which took place in three years was incredible. There were besides many Chinese Christians in Parian, and scattered over the provinces, and almost all of them declared for the English. The moment they took possession of Manila, these Chinese gave them every aid, and accompanied them in all their expeditions. They had it, indeed, in contemplation to make a general rising, which would have caused much bloodshed had it not been discovered in time, for it was their plan to murder Señor Anda and all his peope in Bacolor church, on Christmas eve, 1762; and by committing every description of outrage in the churches that same night, they expected to render the Spaniards incapable of resisting the English, with whom they had a secret understanding.

The authors of this most atrocious scheme were the Chinese of the town of Uava, in the province of Pampanga, where

many of that nation had fixed their residence, and fabricated a species of cannon which they made of large cane, well tied together with tarred rushes, and which bore two or three discharges. They deceived the officiating clergyman of the town, telling him they were preparing all those things against the English, but Señor Anda had his suspicions of them. In this state of things a poor simple Chinese, who was going to marry an Indian of a village, called Mexico, advised Señor Anda not to go to mass, and in the end discovered all the plot. The Indian girl likewise made a full discovery to the Augustine curate of that town, and he communicated her story to Anda, who went to Uava with some troops on the 23d of December.

The Chinese went out to meet him in two detachments, with their cane guns, by a discharge of which one of his people was killed; the Spaniards returned the fire, and obliged the Chinese to retire to the

convent. Señor Anda sent a Spaniard to propose an amicable arrangement with them, but, blind and obstinate in their rebellion, they refused it. Our people then advanced, seeing they must have recourse to arms, and made an immense carnage among them; many of them likewise were taken alive, and hanged next day in Bacolor. Señor Anda gave orders that those who escaped should be tried for their conduct, in whatever part they were found; but having found some letters which proved that they had an understanding with those of Parian on the subject of these commotions, he ordered that all the Chinese in the islands should be hanged, which orders were put in execution very generally, but where the order had been disregarded, he readily overlooked the omission.

In the province of Cagayan the disturbances had commenced as soon as the capture of Manila was known, and in the town of Yligan, the Indians, whom we call

Timavas, had flogged the commandant of the place. They presented themselves to the chiefs, who were appointed receivers of the royal revenue, declaring themselves no longer tributary to the Spanish government: other towns followed their example, and the rebellion thus gained ground. The chiefs called in the aid of the infidel Indians, and some skirmishes took place; but not being able to succeed in reducing the insurgents to submission, they applied to the fountain head, imploring the assistance of the Spaniards. Don Manuel de Arza had just arrived in the province with the title of Captain-general of the three provinces of Cagayan, Ylocos, and Pangasinan (the two latter being likewise in a state of insurrection); and collecting a number of loyal Indians and some Spaniards, he overpowered the rebels, hanged the ringleaders, and restored tranquillity in the province. His presence being no longer necessary in Cagayan, he

went to Ylocos, where sedition had taken a still deeper root. Diego de Silang, an Indian, very quick and artful, and who being a native of Manila, spoke the Spanish language well, began to revolutionize this province, by telling his countrymen, that in order to maintain the Catholic faith, and to preserve the country in obedience to the King, it was requisite to join together and arm against the Spaniards, and deliver them up to the English, against whom they had no means of resistance. These specious arguments made an impression on the minds of the chiefs, and many plebeians, particularly those of Bigan, which is the capital of the province, and residence of the Bishop. The seduced Indians presented themselves armed, and demanded that the Alcalde should give up the staff of government, and deposit it in the hands of the Vicar-general. The majority advised the Alcalde to defend himself against this attack; but instigated by his

fears, or swayed by the opinion of injudicious friends, he resigned the command to the Vicar-general, and with no inconsiderably share of hazard of his life, effected his escape from the province. Emboldened by their success in this instance, the rebels demanded of the Bishop elect, Señor Ustariz, a Dominican, an exemption from the tribute, declaring that they acted justifiable in deposing the Alcalde. The Bishop pledged himself to lay before Señor Anda a favourable representation of their claims; but Silang being determined on acquiring the command, and little satisfied with what he had done, began to collect troops for more extensive operations.

The house of the Vicar-general was too well fortified for the rebels to attack it, but they presented themselves armed on the hills in the vicinity. The Vicar-general ordered the loyal Indians to assemble at Bigan, armed and accoutred, from whence the whole sallied out, and surprising the

rebels, they took some of them; but discontinuing the action too soon, and separating in their usual unsoldier-like manner, they thus gave the rebels an opportunity to rally, and a day or two after they set fire to and burnt down part of the city. The Indians from the south, who came to the defence of the town, seeing it in flames, returned, as did those of the north, by which means the rebels were enabled to take possession of the Vicar-general's house, and the arms it contained.

Silang, rendered vain by these successes, despatched emissaries towards the north, who, raising all the native towns, committed many robberies and atrocities, directing their vengeance in particular against some of the chiefs and Augustine friars, insisting on its having been their fault that the tribute had not been abolished; but in the end their avarice prevailed, and they agreed to accept a consideration in money by way of ransom for their lives.

The authority of Silang being acknowledged by the towns of the north, his emissaries proceeded to those of the south, directing each of them to name a chief as their representative, who was ordered to Bigan, where their powers were to be ratified. By this means he levied considerable sums of money. In a few days he found himself master of the whole province, and he appointed Jesus of Nazareth to be Captain-general of it, he himself assuming the title of his Alcalde Mayor for the protection of the Catholic religion, and of the dominions of the King of Spain. He published a manifesto, which breathed the true spirit of Christianity; always wore his rosary; and obliged the Indians to hear mass, ordering them to confess, and to take care that the children went regularly to school. In the midst of all the sepious actions, he, by means of his emissaries, robbed the estates of cattle, and obliged the proprietors to ransom their lives with money: he levied

a sum of one hundred dollars from every friar, but reduced the fine to eighty dollars, on the petition of one of them who had formerly done him favours. Under the pretext of defending the province from the English, he had centinels placed in all directions, with a view to prevent information being conveyed to Señor Anda of what passed. An Augustine friar, however, contrived to forward a despatch to that effect; but Señor Anda having scarcely troops enough to defend himself, merely sent an order to Silang to present himself at Bacolor in nine days, to give an account of his conduct, under the penalty of being considered as a traitor, and arrested, for which purpose he threatened to send a force to Pampanga, if necessary.

This order was published, accompanied by many vague reports that the Spaniards were coming against Ylocos; in consequence of which, and the friars refusing to grant absolution to the rebels, many of

them deserted from Silang, particularly those of the northern towns, and on this account many of the clergy were made prisoners and conducted to Bigan, although Silang very soon liberated them; for he still affected to respect the Catholic religion, whereby he deceived the clergy, and many Indians who put confidence in him. This rebel had sent to Manila, as a present to the English, two junks, loaded with various effects, which he had plundered in the provinces. A letter accompanied this present, in which he acknowledged the King of Great Britain to be his legitimate Sovereign, and offered to deliver up the province to them. The English government sent a vessel bearing despatches, and a present to Silang, and conferred on him the title of Alcalde Mayor, which he directly made public, to the great regret of the Indians, who had urged him to deliver them from the English, and now saw themselves subjected to them under the orders

of the despot, Diego Silang, who exacted from them contributions, and subjected them to more vexations than they ever suffered before; at the same time that they no longer dared to express their sentiments. As the chief magistrate of the English, and in their name, he ordered some soldiers whom he had raised from the mountaineers of other provinces, who had taken refuge at Ylocos, to make all the friars prisoners; and that there might be no resistance on the part of the towns, he promised them that the English should send them other clergy to admininister the sacrament to them. The monks, who were Augustines, made no resistance, and with all possible despatch joined their Bishop in the convent of Bantay (which is merely a short walk from Bigan), waiting the ultimate determination of the tyrant. The Bishop declared Silang excommunicated; and he, pretending to be sensible of his error, granted permission to some of the clergy to return to

their towns; but they had received intelligence of arrangements he had made for murdering them all, and that he was in expectation of the arrival of some infidels from the mountains to execute his wicked designs, for the Indians not only refused to lay their hands on the clergy, but were determined to die with them. They all prepared for death, without further hopes than what arose from the intentions of the principal Indians, who were making dispositions to come to their assistance; but this was delayed so long, that a Spanish mestizo, named Vicos, presenting himself to the Bishop, said, "Señor, I am going to make an end of that vile Indian; give me your benediction, that I may go and kill the tyrant." He went out of the convent, accompanied by Captain Buecbuee, with a blunderbuss in very bad condition, and reaching the house of Silang, discharged the contents in his side, which caused his immediate death. In consequence of this

his party became completely broken and dismayed, and the same evening the bells were set a ringing, and the evening service sung, to the satisfaction of all, and in the midst of exclamations of "Long live the King of Spain!" The Bishop wished to appoint Vicos chief justice, but the latter advised him to name Buecbuee, who had a considerable party, and could therefore the better overawe any ill disposed persons. The friars immediately returned to their towns, and through their persuasions, seconded by the authority of Don Manuel Arza, who had just arrived, they tranquillized such as were in any way discontented. The death of Silang happened the 28th of May, 1763, and he had commenced his rebellion the 14th of December, 1762.

The most obstinate rebellion of the Indians was that in the province of Pangasinan. The sedition broke out at the town of Binalatongan on the 3d of November,

1762, in consequence of the Alcalde Mayor having sent a commission to collect the royal tribute. The news spread over all the towns of the province; a general request was made that the tribute should be remitted, and that the Alcalde Mayor and judges of the different towns should be replaced by others. About the end of November arrived Don Antonio Panelo at Pangasinan, with the title of lieutenant-general, and with orders from Señor Anda to confine the Alcalde, who was a creature of the Archbishop, and suspected of tampering with the English, although nothing like this was ever proved. As soon as Panelo arrived, the revolted Indians presented themselves, demanding that the tribute should be abolished, and that the Spaniards should quit the province. The latter were fourteen in number, with muskets and pattereros, and the Dominican friars advised them to defend themselves against this mob; but they were alarmed

at their numbers, and abandoning the province, the Indians continued their rebellious proceedings.

The Dominican friars assembled in the town of Asingan, and wrote to their respective parishioners that they would forsake them if they did not submit to the King of Spain; the result of which was, that the Indians came from all quarters, supplicating them to return to their towns, and promising to go to Pampanga to beg of Señor Anda, an Alcalde Mayor; however, they performed none of their promises, so that our Governor and Captain-general was obliged to send troops to reduce them to subjection. Don Fernando Araya went out with thirty-three Spaniards and four hundred Indian archers; they took with them five hundred cartridges, which was all the ammunition that could be spared, in consequence of the scarcity of that article at Pampanga. These troops arrived in Lent time at the river Bayam-

ban, on the opposite bank of which the enemy had entrenched themselves with some cannon and pattereros. The firing commenced on both sides; our people passed over the river, took the entrenchments, and put the Indians to flight, although they were ten thousand in number, and followed them up a short distance; but before they expended all their cartridges they thought proper to retreat, which they did in good order; on our part four Spaniards and four Indians were killed, whose heads the rebels carried off to the towns, where they amused themselves with dancing, according to their custom, and became bolder than ever. The Dominican friars, in endeavouring to escape, often ran the risk of their lives; some were, however, enabled to get away, but those who remained were obliged to refuse the sacrament to the Indians, and for which they intended to murder them, until the voice of the women, as also of

those who had not entered into the rebellion by choice, prevailing, it was resolved to spare their lives. To add to all their troubles, those poor friars had the additional regret to find their fidelity suspected, merely because they were not murdered by the Indians. Miserable, indeed, was the situation of the missionaries in those times; if they abandoned their duty they were blamed, because it was said the flame of rebellion became more extended; and if they remained among them, and were not killed by the Indians, out of respect, or because they wanted a confessor in the hour of death, they were deemed accomplices in their crimes.

The Dominican friars completely vindicated their honour by means of their discourses, and by the aid of the Bishop Ustariz, who, having tranquillized the inhabitants of Ylocos, came to give his assistance in the pacification of the province of Pangasinan. The rebels were in some

degree quieted, and, at last, were induced to proceed to Pampanga to solicit an Alcalde Mayor of Señor Anda. They were very kindly received, their former crimes were pardoned, and he gave them Azevedo for their Alcalde, who took possession of his magistracy on the 5th of December, 1763.

Señor Azevedo was not long in discovering that the flame of rebellion was only smothered, and not extinguished; and he gave information to Señor Anda to that effect, requesting him to send a force to keep the deluded in awe. Señor Anda despatched one hundred and eighty men from his camp to Pangasinan, and gave orders to Don Manuel Arza to extirpate the last remains of the rebellion from Ylocos, that he might form a junction with the troops going to Manila under command of Don Pedro Bonardel. As soon as the rebels knew that troops were going from Manila, they assembled tumultuously

in the town of Calasiao, where the Alcalde was with two Spaniards and two Dominican friars in the convent. The Indians besieged them, but they defended themselves with their muskets; and the rebels not daring to make an assault on the convent, chose the alternative of setting it on fire. The unfortunate party besieged had no other resource but to take refuge on the tower of the church, with the little provisions they could find at hand, where they maintained themselves five days, until our troops learning their unfortunate situation made a forced march to their assistance, routing the rebels in their way.

Bonardel pursued his march to Lingayen, the capital of the province, and putting every detachment of rebels to flight which came in his way, he fortified that town, and was joined by Don Manuel de Arza with a body of Indians which he brought from Ylocos, both by sea and land. Bonardel leaving the remainder of his people

in Lingayen, took fifty men, and went to St. Fabian to liberate the Bishop and some Dominicans, whom the rebels detained as prisoners; he routed them, and although they had possessed themselves of the passes, he managed to join the rest of the army.

In the beginning of the year 1764 nobody opposed our authority in the towns, the rebels had retired to the mountains, taking with them the friars who were not able to join the Spaniards: each troop of rebels had its particular chief, and the rebellion could not be quelled merely by one battle. It was therefore determined upon to distribute detachments over the country, and subdue it in detail. They proceeded by hanging the leaders of the mutiny as they took them, pardoning the great mass of their followers; but they were so very obstinate, that although sensible they could offer no resistance, and that it was easy for them to obtain a general amnesty, they still continued in rebellion, nor was it ef-

fectually quelled till March, 1765. On our side we lost in this expedition seventy Spaniards, and one hundred and forty Indians, and of the rebels more than ten thousand perished. Many of the rebels too died of hunger, or passed over to other provinces, and the first enumeration that was made of the province after the rebellion, it was found that twenty-six thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven persons were deficient of the proper number, composing nearly half the population. All the other provinces of the islands were restored to tranquillity, and maintained in their allegiance to the King of Spain, under the orders of Señor Anda.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the Restoration of Manila by the English at the Peace, anno 1763.

On the 23d of July, 1763, an English frigate arrived with the armistice which had been agreed on by the powers of Spain, France, and England. In any other part of the world hostilities would have ceased, and the chiefs of the contending parties would have been anxious to exchange reciprocal civility and kindness the moment such intelligence was received; but in the Philippines, such were the misunderstandings which had arisen, that the armistice which in Europe had been carried into effect, was here of no avail. The English commander acknowledged no other governor than the Archbishop, and to him he communicated, in the usual form, the

contents of his despatches from his court. The Archbishop transmitted them to Señor Anda, who replied, "That in a matter of such importance and delicacy, the English commander ought immediately to have made him acquainted with it, without the intervention of his Excellency." On the 27th of August, an English vessel arrived with the preliminaries of peace, and the British council directly handed over the despatches to Señor Anda, sealed and directed to the Commander in Chief of his Catholic Majesty's arms; but because the addition of Captain-general of the Philippines was omitted, he would not receive it, observing, that being without the corresponding titles, it might be doubted whether the despatches were intended for him.

The British commander, to establish the authority of it, published a manifesto on the 19th of September, pointing out the line

of conduct he had observed to Señor Anda, in order to procure a cessation of hostilities as soon as he received the preliminaries of peace, and which, he stated, had been forwarded to him by the prime minister, signed by the British and Spanish ambassadors, and he declared Señor Anda responsible for the blood which might be spilled in consequence of the measures he adopted, so contrary to those laws of humanity which had induced the European powers to sheath the sword. Señor Anda replied to this manifesto by another, published in Bacolor the 28th of September, in which he set forth that he had not been made acquainted with the preliminaries of peace in due form; that as Governor he had not been treated as such, but in that character he should answer the English manifesto, by protesting that the continuation of hostilities could not be imputed to him, but to those who, pursuing a line of

conduct little conformable to the orders of their sovereign, had indirectly impeded their execution.

From this moment, however, the English allowed greater latitude to the prisoners in Manila; and Señor Villa Corta, who was considered in that light, availed himself of the indulgence to conceal himself in the house of Don Tomas Dorado, from whence he escaped in a coach under a female dress, and embarked for Pampanga. Señor Anda received him with great affability; and as a mark of his friendship and affection, he left him in Bacolor to transact some matters of business for him, and departed for the camp, in order to transfer it to the town of Polo from Maycavayan, where he had taken up his quarters since the battle of Malinta. In his absence the Archbishop being taken ill, the question was agitated who should be Governor in the event of his death, and Señor Villa Corta observed, that he thought

it fell to him, as being senior Oidor. This conversation was not so secret but Señor Anda became acquainted with it, and without waiting to remove his camp to Polo, he left proper instructions, and returning to Bacolor he retorted on Villa Corta, who endeavoured to exculpate himself, by pleading that it was merely conversation, and undeserving serious notice: his enquiries and solicitude terminated in discovering that Señor Galban and the royal fiscal were of opinion that Senor Ustariz, Bishop of New Segovia or Ylocos, ought to succeed to the government, in case of the death of the Archbishop, conformable to the recent orders of his Majesty. Señor Anda was anxious to obtain the opinions of the various parties in the islands, and consulted Señor Matos, Bishop of Camarines, and the provincial clergy on the subject. Señor Matos returned him for answer, that the subject was quite foreign to his profession, and that it was the province of the Royal

Audience to decide the point, and that he, as a good subject, should acquiesce in that decision. The provincial friars of St. Augustine and St. Domingo answered him in nearly the same terms; but the provincial of the Jesuits and the Franciscans told him, that in the then situation of the islands he alone could preserve the public tranquillity, and on that account he ought to retain the supreme authority. This diversity of opinion was not very gratifying to Señor Anda, and although the troops were in his favour, he was by no means desirous of having recourse to violence. This induced him to submit so far as to take the opinion of the British commander, and he accordingly wrote to him from Bacolor the 2d of November, 1763.

Major Fell, who commanded the English troops, had at this time quitted his command, with the view of proceeding to London, to complain of certain proceedings respecting Monsieur Faller, who was

ordered for execution by Admiral Cornish, on account of letters written by him to the commandant at Batavia, in which he termed the admiral a pirate and robber. Governor Drake protected him, and kept him in the hall of the Royal Audience. Fell demanded him, and the Governor refusing to deliver him up, Fell took with him a file of grenadiers, and repaired to the palace. Ascending the staircase, he met the Governor coming down, when an altercation took place, and Fell snatching a fusee from a grenadier, was in the act of bayoneting the Governor, when one of his own soldiers prevented him, and took the musket from him. During this disturbance on the staircase, the grenadiers went to the hall of the Royal Audience, took Faller, and carried him on board ship. Major Fell, in consequence of this, embarked for London, in order to complain of the Governor, and Don Thomas Backhouse took the command. To him it was that Señor

Anda wrote, complaining bitterly of the vexations which the English soldiers had given to his soldiers, and finished by observing, that if he meant to write, he must address him by the titles and in the style due to his rank. Backhouse replied by disclaiming the ground of his complaints, as they referred to a period when he had not the command; and in regard to the government of the islands, he pleaded ignorance of our statutes and laws, but he said he saw, with great grief, strong symptoms of civil war, which threatened the desolation of Manila as soon as evacuated by his Britannic Majesty's troops. Señor Anda well knew that the English would not acknowledge any other Governor than the Archbishop, and began to spread suspicions that the preliminaries of peace were forged by the English Governor, who found himself driven to extremity by the incursions our people made from the camp of

Polo, and which occasioned a scarcity of provisions in Manila.

The English adhering to the resolution of committing no act of hostility, and keeping on the defensive, only endeavoured to procure their provisions in the provinces. With this view they sent to the province of Batan a sloop, with a very few people, to the town of Orion, and taking refuge in the convent, they purchased what provisions they wanted. Señor Anda hearing of this, sent troops against them: the Indians assaulted them through the kitchen, and surprised them, but they saved themselves in the sloop by the negligence of the officer who commanded, and who arrived too late with the rest of the people. In the river Pasig also our people made them abandon two vessels which were going to the Lake for provisions, and they took a galley from the very door of the store-houses. In this manner did the two nations continue their hostilities until the

30th of January, 1764. On this day the Archbishop died, oppressed in mind by the miseries he saw the people suffer, and the many inquietudes his employment occasioned him at a moment of such calamity. His Excellency was guilty of only one material error during this war, and that was his engagement to pay four millions to the English, and deliver up the islands to them. It would have been better to have surrendered at discretion than with conditions so hard, and out of his power to comply with: it must be remembered, however, in his justification, that he granted them with the bayonet at his breast, and that the Spaniards who were with him signed the same terms.

Immediately after the funeral of the Bishop, Señor Anda received despatches, by way of China, from his Catholic Majesty, communicating the conclusion of peace with the English, to his Governor at Manila; he informed the English com-

mandant of it, offering a suspension of hostilities, and requesting them to take measures for delivering up the place. The English assented to this, and sent to the town of Tambobon the chief engineer, Stevenson, accompanied by Don Edward Vogan as an interpreter, who had been at St. Joseph's College, and returned to the islands with this expedition as a pilot or guide. On our side was appointed Don Francisco Salgado, with his interpreter, Don Geronimo Ramirez. Their respective powers being produced, they entered on the negociation; but all was reduced to mere squabbling, Salgado exaggerating our strength, which, he said, was equal to the capture of Manila, to which the English officer very archly replied, by asking why they did not take the fort on the Pasig, which was scarcely in a state of defence? Nine days were thus wasted, and nothing concluded on. While under these circumstances, an English vessel arrived,

with orders to evacuate the place, and the negociation ceased. This occurrence served to revive the old disputes relative to the succession to the government, and receiving the place from the English. Señor Villa Corta had his supporters, and Señor Ustariz, who had the greatest right, did not want for partizans. Señor Anda had in his favour the circumstance of having defended the islands, and having prevented the English from advancing to the northern provinces; and, above all, he commanded the troops, who were attached to him, and this served to check the pretensions of the others. Most fortunately, at this time, arrived at Marinduque, in the Santa Rosa frigate, Don Francisco de la Torre, despatched by the Viceroy of Mexico as the King's Lieutenant. Señor Anda sent him a galley, on board of which he embarked and came to Bacolor, where Señor Anda, with much honour and disinterestedness, resigned the government into his hands,

conformable to his Sovereign's orders, on the 17th of March, 1764.

Señor Torre sent to Backhouse and Brereton, his Britannic Majesty's commanding officers at Manila, the despatches, by which he ordered the evacuation of Manila, and they replied, that they were ready to deliver up the place to him in form. He took possession of a house in Santa Cruz, placed a Spanish guard, with advanced centinels, as far as the great bridge, where the advanced guard of the English was, and a friendly communication took place. Governor Drake felt hurt that he had not been consulted on these proceedings, and ordered the Spanish Governor to retire, or abide the consequences. Brereton and Backhouse ordered the troops under arms to arrest the Governor for sending such a hostile message, as the sincerity of both parties was unquestionable. Drake heard of it, and escaping from the city with his

suite, embarked on board the frigate and put to sea.

The terms were concluded in an amicable manner, and the day was fixed for giving possession of the place, for which purpose Señor Anda came with the troops which he had in Polo; and Señor Torre being indisposed, he received the town from the English, placed the Spanish guards at the gates, and hoisted the Spanish flag on the fort of Sant Jago, in the midst of salutes of artillery.

The English commander, before he quitted Manila, published a manifesto, in which he desired any person who had cause of complaint against the late government to apply to him, and he would do him justice. Señor Villa Corta presented himself, and demanded the repayment of the three thousand dollars he had paid, to redeem the sentence of death passed on him. Brereton ordered them to be returned, observing, that if the sentence was just, it

ought to have been put in execution, and not be commuted for money; and if unjust, the restitution of the sum was highly proper. The provincial of the Jesuits claimed a sloop which Governor Drake had requested of him, and which he had given gratuitously for the service of the King of Great Britain; but the Governor having appropriated it to his own use, he now requested it might be returned, or four thousand dollars paid for it, which was the sum it was valued at. This was immediately paid him: various other demands were made of less magnitude, which Brereton satisfied with justice and equity.

At the instance of the English chiefs, our government published a manifesto, in which a pardon was granted to the Chinese who had joined their party, although some of the ringleaders, not confiding in the manifesto, went away with the English, as did also Faller and Orandain, who were under apprehensions, if they remained in Ma-

nila, that they would be beheaded as traitors. Orandain, in his retreat, passed over to Tonquin, and having landed, the natives rose on him, in consequence of some excesses which had been committed by the sailors: they attacked him, and being unable to gain the boats in consequence of waiting for his daughter, whom he had married to an Englishman, and who was on shore with him, both he and his daughter were murdered, thus atoning for the crimes with which he was charged.

Manila, Cavite, and Pasig, being delivered up, Brereton embarked and went to Mariveles, where the transport ships were waiting for him; and having despatched a packet-boat with the King of Jolo to restore him to his throne, he set sail for India.

The religious orders had co-operated very considerably with Señor Anda, in enabling him to maintain the Indians of the respective districts in obedience to his or-

ders, by inspiring a horror of the English as enemies of the King and their religion, exciting them even to die in fighting cheerfully against them; likewise offering their houses, estates, and riches, and finally exposing their own persons to very imminent risks. All of them exerted themselves uniformly to this end, for which they jointly and individually were honoured with the thanks of his Majesty for their distinguished loyalty; but the Augustines suffered most, for as Señor Anda retired into the provinces of Bulacan and Pampanga, which these friars governed, they supplied him with recruits and with provisions. They exhorted the Indians, and even forced them, to serve against the English, and to be ready, at all times, to obey orders. The enemy knew that without this resource Señor Anda could not have acquired the means of resistance; and finding that the Augustines gave him every aid, they were declared traitors, eleven were arrested, and

carried away to London and India. All were made prisoners whom they could lay their hands on, and confined in the dungeons of the fort; and they would have been taken away to sea if the preliminaries of peace had not arrived. They plundered a second time their convent; they sold the bells and the library; and a person was even found to purchase the building; in short, every thing they had was confiscated. When Manila was delivered up, in order to repossess themselves of their convent, it was necessary for the provincial to make a contract to pay ten thousand dollars for it, in case the courts of Madrid and London should confirm the confiscation of their property. The British court approved of the conduct of the English council, and, in virtue of its sentence, an Englishman went to Madrid to receive the ten thousand dollars; but our court not consenting to pay this sum, considering it a mere imposition, the English threatened that another op-

portunity they would make up the loss; but this dispute, as also that respecting the four millions which the Archbishop promised to pay, is buried in oblivion long ago, and was fully covered by the millions sacrificed in the treaties respecting Nootka Sound, and the whale fisheries on the northern coast of America.

All these services of the Augustines to Señor Anda were, however, thrown away, for some of the individuals of their body in the disputes which arose on the succession after the death of the Archbishop, attached themselves to the party of Villa Corta; and consulting their provincial, they replied to Señor Anda, that it was their opinion the dispute ought to be decided by the Royal Audience, and that their decision should be final. So disgusted was he by this determination of the Augustines, that he not only forgot all the services they had rendered him, but on his return as Governor, under some frivolous pretence, he sent soldiers to

Pampanga, confiscated their property, and put the whole of the order in confinement at Manila, substituting Indian clergy in their room.

His Majesty considered attentively all the services the Augustines had rendered in Manila, and ordered that all their property should be restored to them, together with the province of Pampanga; but when this order arrived, the furniture of the poor monks was already rotten in the store-houses, and the friars themselves having been driven into other provinces or dead, were unable to avail themselves of his Majesty's kindness, and take possession of the province of Pampanga thus allotted to them by his decision. To all which, if the desolation caused by the war is added, the friars will be found to have suffered the most severe losses, and which they have yet scarcely been able to retrieve.

Señor Torre being recovered of his indisposition, which was probably only as-

sumed, in order to afford Senor Anda the opportunity of entering triumphantly into Manila to receive it from the English, as many suspected was the case, he went to reside at the palace, and began, by degrees, to restore order, and to repair the various ravages occasioned by the war. He made arrangements for tranquillizing the province of Pangasinan, and conducted the government with sufficient ability until the arrival of his successor, Field-Marshal Don Joseph Raon; but the occurrences during his and the succeeding government are of too recent a nature to be committed to the press with that candour which the fidelity of historical record requires.

EXTRACT

From Monsr. SONNERAT'S *Voyage aux Indes et a la Chine.*

Vol. III. Chap. 10.

OF THE

PHILIPPINES AND MOLUCCAS.

THESE Archipelagos have been already noticed in my Voyage to New Guinea; but I have, since that period, had occasion to make some further observations, equally new as necessary.

I follow M. le Gentil in giving the position, latitude, and seasons of the principal of these islands. This judicious observer has made a particular study of the subject, and his work appears to me correct.

The Philippines and Moluccas are commonly divided into two distinct Archipelagos; but, in my opinion, all these islands in reality form but one; and if they were all under one Sovereign, they would, doubtless, be comprehended under one designation.

The Philippines are attached to the crown of Spain, and the Dutch possess the Moluccas. These last are more deserving of consideration, and richer than the

first. They owe their fertility to the industry of a nation laborious, commercial, and addicted to cultivation. Every thing, on the contrary, in the Philippines, indicates the indolence of a people who direct all their efforts to religion, and whose sole object seems to be to acquire proselytes.

OF THE PHILIPPINES.

The Philippines extend from the 3d or 4th, to the 19th or 20th degree of north latitude. They comprehend a great number of islands, which, for the most part, are very little known. The principal, and those on which the Spaniards have establishments, are Luçon, Mindoro, Panay, and Mindanao. Next, in point of extent, are ranked Palawan, Buglas or Isle of Negroes, Zebu, Leyt or Leita, and Samar. To the east of Zebu is the little island of Mactan, where Magellan lost his life. Exclusive of these there is a multitude of small islands.

Luçon lies to the north of all the others: it is likewise the largest, being not less than 450 miles in length, and about 85 at its least breadth. The Spaniards have upon this island established Manila, the capital of their settlements in the Archipelago. Its advantageous position for the commerce of China, and that of other parts of India, ought to render this city the richest in the world; but what Spaniard would occupy his time in the pursuit of transitory riches, which must be acquired by the assiduities of commercial industry, and at the expense of his national prejudices?

Manila lies in 40° 30′ N. latitude. The climate is nearly the same as that of Pondicherry and Madras; the town is large and well built; the houses are handsome, and the streets in straight lines. There are several superb churches. It is fortified, and is situated upon the bank of a considerable river, which washes its

walls, and communicates through the island of Luçon in every direction. The country which surrounds it is fertile, and adapted to every species of cultivation; but in the hands of the Spaniards it lies an useless waste. They have neither availed themselves of the position of the town, or of the fertility of the surrounding soil; they allow it to exhaust itself, and bear of its own accord crops which they will not be at the trouble of getting in. Even the law, which ought to lend its aid in support of the cultivator of the soil, is at Manila inimical to his views, and the exportation of that abundance which nature holds out to man is prohibited. The treasures of the earth exceed the wants of the limited number of inhabitants in this island, and they are allowed to perish on the soil which gives them birth. The consequence is, that should it happen in any year that a variable atmosphere, hurricanes, or a wet or dry season, should substitute scarcity for abundance, the most dreadful famine would be the lot of a country which ought never to feel the effects of it.

Such is the general ignorance, such their indolence, their blind and culpable confidence in Providence, that the extent of their cultivation, and the collection of their produce, is limited to their immediate wants. The most horrible misery is often the result of this perilous security, so much at variance with the benevolent views of nature. Common animal instinct teaches us to provide for the future, but the Spaniards cannot boast of even this foresight.

It is computed that there are about 12,000 Christians in Manila. The population of this city was formerly much more extensive while it was resorted to by the Chinese. Many of that nation were settled there, and others were engaged in commercial intercourse; but a bigoted Governor, under the influence of a wretched policy, absolutely drove them out of the island. Commerce and the arts immediately declined, and have

never since recovered. Misery and depopulation have been the fatal consequences of this mal-administration.

Vessels do not anchor abreast of Manila; the mouth of the river is interrupted by a bar, which is very dangerous in stormy weather. Small vessels, however, may enter, and their cargoes are discharged at Privateer harbour. Such vessels as are obliged to winter at Manila retire to the port of Cavite, situated in the bottom of the bay to the S. E. and three leagues distant from Manila.

Cavite is provided with a fort, which is not in a state to resist the attack of an European enemy. It is constructed on a tongue of low land, which the sea threatens with submersion; its harbour is not sheltered from the north and N. N. W. winds; and it is infested with a species of worm which attacks vessels, and soon renders them unfit to keep the sea. Another great inconvenience is, that water is procured at a great distance; and for this purpose it is necessary to employ the flat-bottomed boats of the country, which are alone capable of penetrating sufficiently far up the river. Three parts of the town, little considerable in itself, are occupied, like all the Spanish possessions, by convents; the suburbs are called Fauxbourg Saint Roch. It consists of a collection of houses, built of bamboo, and covered with palm leaves; but there are in it, however, the ruins of a church which appears to have been sufficiently handsome. The Indians, who joined the English in 1762, destroyed it, and that which was formerly held in such respect is now become a shelter for cattle.

The Spaniards have many religious establishments in the island of Luçon. It might be averred, that it never was their intention to plant colonies, for they have only sent monks, and appear to have had no other end in view than the propagation of the Catholic faith. The people, therefore, who have submitted to the Spa-

nish yoke, scarcely exhibit any traits of a polished nation. Languishing in inactivity, they are without energy, and appear equally indifferent to virtue as to vice. Indolence, a dereliction of life and timidity, constitute their character, and misery is their habitual state; but there are districts to which the Spaniards have been unable to penetrate. In vain have they tried to subdue those who have retired thither; in vain applied force, severity, and punishment, to subjugate and convert them. These people have escaped from the yoke by removing themselves to defiles where the Spaniards cannot attack them: they have carried with them into the retreat they have chosen the recollection of the injuries they have suffered, and of those with which they have been threatened; they nourish, in the extremity of their asylum, an implacable hatred against the strangers, whom they consider as the oppressors of their native land; they incessantly meditate on, and prepare the means of revenge. Supported by their courage, animated by their hatred, they dare approach even the gates of the capital: their progress is marked with pillage, murder, devastation, and rape; they even live at the expense of such of their countrymen as have submitted; they carry off, they tear from them the support of a miserable existence, which these latter have neither the strength nor the courage to defend.

There is, besides these, in the mountainous parts, a description of people absolutely in a savage state; they shun the face of man, they even shun each other; they are solitary wanderers; they stop when night overtakes them, and take their rest in the hollows of trees; they are strangers even to domestic life. The invincible propensities of nature are alone capable of bending their stubborn character, and impelling the men to satisfy themselves with such females as chance throws in their way, and towards whom desire is the only attraction.

The inhabitants of the island of Luçon call themselves *Tagals*, as do likewise all the inhabitants of the Philippines—they appear to derive their origin from the Malays, and exhibit features of their character—their language, though different from that of the Malays, has its pronunciation and its sweetness. All these islands seem to be inhabited by the same people, among whom their customs alone have been subjected to change. In Manila, such has been the intercourse with the Chinese and other nations, that they have become a mixed race.

The Manilians are of a swarthy complexion, large and well made; their dress is composed of a shirt of a kind of linen made of the filaments of the *abaca*, a species of palm; this shirt is very short, and is worn over a large and wide pair of drawers: but their greatest luxury consists in handkerchiefs, with red borders, of the finest quality; of these they usually wear three, one on the head, one on the neck, and the third is held in the hand. The English manufacture them at Madras expressly for their consumption.

The women wear a kind of little shift, which scarcely reaches to the navel, with a handkerchief loosely covering the neck; a white linen cloth encircles the body, and is fastened by a button at the waist: they throw over this a coloured stuff, manufactured by the inhabitants of Panay. Over all is worn a mantle, for the most part black, which covers the body from head to foot. Their hair, which is black and highly beautiful, sometimes reaches to the ground: they bestow the greatest care on it, anoint it with cocoa-nut oil, plait it in the Chinese fashion, and, towards the crown of the head, form it into a knot, fastened with a gold or silver pin. They wear embroidered slippers, so very small that they only cover the toes.

The houses of the Indians of Manila are constructed of bamboo, covered with palm leaves. They are erected

on pillars of wood, at the height of from eight to ten feet from the ground, and they ascend to them by a small ladder, which is drawn up every night. The custom of thus raising their houses to this elevation, has for its object their protection from the humidity of the soil; but that of drawing up the ladders, by which they mount to them, has in view their security against ferocious animals, and those of their neighbours who live in a savage state. Their bed is, for the most part, a simple mat, spread on the floor.

Their food is rice, plain boiled, which they eat either with salted fish, or by putting into the water in which it is dressed a spice, which takes off its insipid taste.

There are many lakes in the island of Luçon; the most considerable is that called by the Spaniards *Laguna de Bay*. The river, which washes the walls of Manila, flows out of this lake, and thus a communication, by means of boats, is open to its surrounding shores. This lake is about 30 leagues in circumference, and about 120 fathoms in depth. In the middle of it is an island, which holds out a refuge to some Indian families. They live by fishing, and preserve their liberty by prohibiting the approach of strangers to their asylum. This lake is bounded on the west by high mountains; the level country is fertile, and is inhabited by a people of gentle manners: they employ themselves in manufacturing matting, cloth, and different fabrics, from the *abaca*. Perhaps the first monks who were sent to convert them were attracted there by the mildness of their character.

The Spaniards, in supplying them with a religion, have left their laws unaltered; in fact, their ancient usages are retained, and they are governed by an Indian of their village, nominated, however, by the Spaniards, and whose authority they acknowledge.

This people, though of a mild character, treat crimes

with severity; the greatest, in their opinion, is adultery, which is the only one punished with death.

Eastward of the lake there are immense plains; large and deep rivers traverse them, and spread to a great distance a natural fertility. This country might be the residence of a numerous population, which might live happy in the cultivation of it. Only a few villages, however, are to be seen scattered here and there; miserable dwellings, inhabited by men devoid of honesty, without justice, who, in a constant state of warfare, entertain mutual fear of each other, and who, instead of laws, of the protection of which they are ignorant, place their security in their arms; these they never quit, they hold them in readiness in approaching each other, and the intercourse they have together less resembles a social act than a state of perpetual warfare. Even the rights of blood afford no security: parents, brothers, wife and husband, live in constant distrust of each other, and, consequently, in a state of reciprocal hatred. The origin of manners, so far removed from the mild character of their neighbours, may be found in the mode adopted for their subjection, and the recollection of those punishments they have been exposed to by the priests, in compelling them to adore the cross.

There are many volcanos in the island of Luçon, which, it is most probable, is the cause of the frequent earthquakes to which it is subject; not a year passes without two, three, or four. The Spaniards of Manila construct their houses accordingly; the whole is of wood, and raised on wooden pillars; but to guard against such visitations they are provided with a small apartment made of bamboo, placed in the court or garden. There the whole family sleeps, when the state of the atmosphere seems to indicate an earthquake.

It has been well observed by M. Gentil, that the earthquakes appear to occur more frequently at the end

of the year, and most commonly in the night-time. I witnessed two in the month of December, 1770: the first was violent, and threw down many houses; it was announced at nine o'clock at night by a strong southerly wind, which considerably agitated the sea; the atmosphere became charged with a reddish vapour, and in two hours time I felt three successive shocks, which produced in me a kind of sea sickness. The vessels in the road were sensible of the motion, and thought they had struck. The Spaniards employed themselves in chaunting the rosary.

From the volcanos proceed springs of warm water, which are in great abundance in the island of Luçon; to some are attributed even marvellous properties, particularly to those of Bailly, situated on the borders of the lake of *Bay*. The King has had an hospital and public baths constructed here.

The trade of Manila might be very considerable, and this city become one of the richest and most commercial in all Asia. The Spaniards themselves might proceed to China, Cochin-china, India, Bengal, Surat, and even to the Isle of France, from whence might be drawn the commodities they stand in need of either for their own consumption, or for carrying on the commerce to Mexico; they might take with them, in exchange, the produce of the islands: but the Spaniard, naturally slothful, is more disposed to enjoy his indolence, which he denominates tranquillity, than export the productions of his country; a species of traffic necessarily accompanied with some degree of fatigue.

The government has prohibited the admission of any foreign vessels into their harbours. All the French navigators, who have been desirous of establishing an intercourse, and who have touched at Manila for commercial purposes, have been always received very ungraciously; and privateers, from an ill-judged combination against them, have uniformly sustained great

losses there on their prizes. The difficulties which have been thrown in the way of the unloading and loading of vessels, have thoroughly disgusted the merchants of the Isle of France; a commerce, nevertheless, which might be rendered equally advantageous to both nations.

The only vessels admitted at Manila are those of the Chinese and Indians, on the pretence that these people may thus be made converts; these are the vessels which import into Manila the articles of absolute necessity and of luxury, and take in exchange the piastres brought by the galleon from Acapulco.

The commodities which might be drawn from Manila are cordage, pitch and tar, linen cloth, rushes, *rotin*, indigo, *rocon*, achiote, and rice. The cotton is of the finest quality, and might be made an important article of exportation to China, where many cargoes of that commodity are sent from Surat, on which the gain is sometimes an hundred per cent.

The sugar-cane thrives well here, and yields a sugar superior to that produced at Batavia. There is likewise found here the bark of a tree, which answers as a substitute for cinnamon, but to the taste of cinnamon it adds a little tartness: its bark is thick and porous, and the tree deemed a bastard cinnamon. The Spaniards barter it with the Chinese, but they set very little value on it, as the same species is found in Hainam, in Tonquin, and in Cochin China, from whence they import it. Another production is the wild nutmeg, but having no flavour, it is on that account not merchantable. It is small, and the tree which bears it has leaves a foot long; the same species is found at Madagascar.

Tobacco succeeds well here; the chiroutes of Manila are in high repute all over India for their agreeable flavour; even the ladies smoke them all day long.

The cocoa of Manila is considered as superior to that of America; it is the only tree whose cultivation is at-

tended to in all the Philippines, because so much use is made of chocolate. It is the general beverage, and is presented as refreshment on visits: cocoa, as well as tobacco, are not indigenous in the Philippines; they were imported from New Spain.

Wax might likewise be procured from Manila, the mountains swarming with bees which produce it.

There is a great deal of gold found in all the rivers, a sufficient proof that there are mines of that metal; the Indians will earn fifteen pence a day by washing the sands for it.

Iron is found in its native state, but mixed with some other metal, which renders it softer than ours. They work it exactly as it is found. There is likewise abundance of loadstone, and considerable quarries of marble from whence that is procured, with which the churches are decorated.

The Spaniards have but a few insignificant establishments on Mindoro. All travellers have asserted that the inhabitants of this island have tails, but this idea rests on no other ground than that of the *Coccix* being a little elongated.

The principal establishments of the Spaniards, in the island of Panay, are Ilo-Ilo and Antigue; there is no good anchorage on the island of Panay but in this latter place.

Antigue is in 6° 42′ N. latitude; the anchorage is six fathom, at a good distance from the land. Vessels cannot take the benefit of this anchorage in November, December, and January, but with great risk, as, during that period, the south-west and west winds blow right on the coast, and render the sea tempestuous. Water for shipping is procured at a small rivulet, situated to the north; there is a much more considerable river, which serves as a ditch to the fort, and along which boats may proceed a great way; but its water is brackish

even at neap tides. The inhabitants of this island, more industrious than those of Luçon, manufacture handkerchiefs and cloths from cotton, and the fibres of a plant which the country supplies; the coarsest description is used for clothing, and with the finer they trade with the neighbouring islands.

In other respects Antigue resembles the rest of the Philippines. Indulgent Nature is prodigal of her gifts, of which the inhabitants make no attempt to avail themselves, for the government uses no means of protection against the ravages and cupidity of the Moors, who incessantly harass and carry off even the fishing-boats from the bay: this is only protected by a wooden fort, garrisoned by about twenty Christian natives.

This island produces a great deal of grain, but little fruit; cocoa and plantains, of a bad quality, are alone sought after by the inhabitants. There is a great number of stags, wild boars, and wild hogs; buffaloes, horned cattle, and horses, are so common, that no attention is paid either to their safety or to their propagation; the horses wander about at their pleasure; they are public property, having no particular owner: when a horse is wanted, the first that appears is seized, and he is turned loose again when he has performed the requisite service.

The air of the whole island is unwholesome, from the want of cultivation, and the frequency of marshes. It is supposed to contain many very rich gold mines.

The Spaniards have many factories on the coasts of Mindanao, which support a precarious existence only by a constant state of warfare with the innumerable Kings reigning in the island, not one of which will acknowledge the Spanish dominion.

Sambouanga forms the chief establishment of the Spaniards on this island; it is situated on the southern coast of it. According to our observation, it lies in

120° 13′ long. and 6° 54′ lat. differing considerably from the observation of Mr. Gentil, who places it in 7° 20′ lat. apparently after some bad Spanish charts.

The Spaniards have constructed a considerable fort, with stone and brick, and capable of the defence of the bay. The inhabitants are placed within a palisade, abutting on one side to the fort, and on the other to a small wooden battery of 14 guns, which commands the environs of the town.

Sambouanga costs the King of Spain a great deal, and makes no return. This post was established for the purpose of checking the incursions of the Moors of Jolo on the neighbouring islands; notwithstanding which these latter are not a whit less frequent in their visits to the bay of Antigue and that of Manila, carrying off not only the fishing-boats which fall in their way, but vessels richly laden. They are even daring enough to attack the inhabitants of Sambouanga; they land out of the range of the guns, and harass them close to the palisade; these unhappy beings are thus prevented from quitting their houses; they cultivate the land under the protection of cannon, of which they are compelled to avail themselves of several pieces in such fields as they are desirous of tilling.

The soil is fertile, and requires little culture; it produces rice abundantly. The cattle are very numerous, and of little value. The King having turned some loose upon an immense plain which adjoins the settlement, they have multiplied to such a degree, that when I was there they were estimated at six thousand. A wooden fort, of eight guns, has been constructed in the middle of the plain to check the Moors. Upon another plain, separated from this by a chain of mountains, the Spaniards have turned horses and cattle, which have likewise increased prodigiously; both plains are bordered by a thin wood, full of stags and wild hogs. The

rivers, as is the case in the island of Luçon, produce a great deal of gold.

A particular species of cocoa is found at Sambouanga; the tree which produces it differs in no respect from that with which we are acquainted; its fruit has the same form, but is a little less in size; the husk is not of a fibrous consistence like that of common cocoa, the flesh of it is analogous to the artichoke; it has its flavour, and, perhaps, we assigned a greater degree of delicacy to it, because we had not the means of comparing them: if this fruit is allowed to grow old on the tree, it changes its nature, and becomes stringy; in this state its taste is tart, and the cocoa is no longer fit for eating. I carried six to the Isle of France, but they did not succeed.

There is a volcano on the south side of Mindanao which burns incessantly, and serves as a landmark to vessels frequenting this navigation.

The island of Jolo, or Spoloo, seems to be the point of demarkation between the Philippines and the Moluccas. The Dutch pretend that it is a dependency on the Moluccas; and the Spaniards are so much persuaded it is one of the Philippines, that they have repeatedly attempted an establishment there; and not having succeeded by mild measures, they have endeavoured to render themselves masters of it by force. Every attempt has failed: the Jolois have never been induced to acknowlege but their own sovereign.

The English have had a factory on a small island to the east of Jolo, but they have been obliged to abandon it.

The French have attempted to form an establishment there. The King of the island, as a proof of his friendly intentions towards the nation, had even desired the French flag. I believe, however, there was good reason for not persevering in the attempt, as, sooner or

later, the adventurers would have been the victims of the inhabitants, who are naturally warlike and fierce, though under the government of a good prince.

It was under the administration of M. Poivre, at the Isle of France, that a kind of alliance was formed between the French government and the Sultan of Jolo. M. Poivre had had some intercourse with this Prince, the most powerful of all the sovereigns in the Philippine Archipelago; and he had availed himself of it, to direct to that island the first expedition in search of the spice plants, under the command of M. de Tremigon. The Frenchmen attached to this expedition were hospitably received at Jolo. Alymudin, the Sultan, not only offered them his aid in the conquest, but a considerable territory in his dominions.

Jolo is only a small island of 30 to 40 leagues in circumference: it notwithstanding merits the attention of the European powers, on account of its being so well adapted for the cultivation of spices, and generally for commerce.

It produces a great many elephants; amber is found there, and there is a pearl fishery. Its harbour is a retreat for the Moors, who piratically infest these seas, distress the navigation of the Spaniards, and carry off in their incursions the colonists, of whom they make slaves; the coast is furnished with fish sufficient for the daily food of the inhabitants; here likewise are gathered the birds' nests so highly esteemed by the Chinese.

Statement of the Productions of the Philippines, transmitted to the French Minister in 1776.

Gold is found every where, but more abundantly at Gapan, in the province of Pampanga. The provinces of Pangasinan and Cagayan produce

Lead.

Copper.

Iron.

Sulphur.

Excellent Sugar.

Indigo.

The Achiote, a tree, the seed of which is used for dying.

Cotton, of the best quality.

Oil of Cocoa, in abundance.

Wood Oil, equally abundant.

Oil of Louban, a species of fruit.

Oil of Aonpoly, an agricultural production.

Ginger.

Camphor.

Areka Nut, in abundance.

Cocoa, in abundance; from this is made a beverage, the consumption of which is very great.

La Nipe, in abundance, of which likewise a beverage is made.

The Barro Oyesca, a species of the amadon, or tinder made of the large fungus which grows on trees.

Pitch and Tar, in abundance.

Cocoa Nuts, ditto.

Pepper.

Betel.

The Cinnamon of Sambouanga, very good.

Cowries.

Tortoiseshell.

Mother of Pearl and Pearls, often of a very fine quality.

Deer Skins, Ox and Buffalo Hides.

La Balate, both white and black, first, second, and third sorts, which forms a considerable branch of trade to China.

Dried Prawns, likewise a considerable article of trade.

Birds' Nests.

Wax, in abundance.

Honey, in abundance.
Musk, or Algalia.
Deer and Ox Sinews, for the commerce with China.
Fine Goimon, dried in the sun for ditto.

Woods and Timber.

The Cocoa Tree, which produces the St. Ignatius' bean, or bean of Cathalonga.
Red Campechy Wood, first and second sorts,
Eagle Wood.
Ebony.
The Narra, or red veined ebony.
The Tindato, entirely red.
Sandal Wood, not much scented.
Fir Trees, in the mountains of Pangasinan,
The Molaven, not subject to decay.
The Quijo, } for building.
The Banava, }
The Calantas, or Cedar.
The Laguan, or red and white apple-tree.
The Palo Maria, for small spars.
The Mangue Chapuy, for lower masts.
There is besides these an infinite variety of different kinds of woods, which we pass over in silence.

Lompotes, a kind of gauze manufactured at Zebu, and which is in general use in the Philippines and in New Spain.

Sail Cloth of cotton, manufactured in Ylocos.

Testingues, a kind of checked dimity, much worn.

The Abaca, a species of hemp, of which cordage is made.

The Black Gamuty, used for the same purpose.

The Banoté, or Coyar; applicable in the same way, and of which is likewise made oakum for caulking.

The Tobacco is excellent.

The Corn in the provinces of Ylocos and Bay excellent.

Rice excellent, and in great abundance.

There is likewise a trade carried on with the Chi-

nese in the flesh of deer, oxen, buffaloes, and horses, dried in the sun (called jerk in South America), as likewise in the tallow of all these animals.

OF THE MOLUCCAS.

The Moluccas form a considerable archipelago, which extends in longitude from Java to New Guinea. On the coasts of Papua, and adjoining islands, are formed colonies of the inhabitants of New Guinea, and which are dependencies on the Moluccas. The Dutch have factories in all the islands of this archipelago, but at Amboyna and Banda they have forts, and considerable establishments *. In order to preserve the spice trade exclusively, they even went so far as to set fire to the adjacent islands which produced these shrubs; but such precautions are useless, for the whole of the Moluccas, with the coasts of Papua, and even all New Guinea, produce, and will continue to produce, them, while they exist. When the French were in the habit of procuring these productions, they did not go either to Banda or Amboyna in search of them, but to Guébi and Moar. Their vessels resorted to the port of Guébi, unquestionably the finest harbour in the Moluccas, and to which the Dutch were strangers, as the French found it uninhabited. They there established themselves during the time that the King of Maba and Patanie, and the Sultan of Tidor, went in search of the precious trees which furnished the spices: they took them to the Isle of France, where they succeeded re-

* The English Admiral, Rainier, in 1796, took possession of the islands of Amboyna and Banda. The census made at that time of the first of these islands, and its dependencies, made the number of inhabitants 45,252, of whom 17,813 were Protestants, the rest Mahomedans, with the exception of an inconsiderable number of Chinese and Aborigines. (*Sonnini.*)

markably well (as we have seen in the Chapter on the Isle of France), as well as at Cayenne, to which they were transported soon afterwards.

The inhabitants of the Moluccas are in general of a swarthy complexion, approaching to black, with a yellow stain: they partake much of the Malay character, and seem to derive their origin from that nation; they have their language, their manners, and, like them, with little personal strength, are nevertheless cruel and ferocious: perhaps the harshness of their manners may be traced to the wandering and solitary life they lead in the woods, to avoid becoming the slaves of the Dutch.

The islands they inhabit are fertile, but they do not practise any cultivation, and live on sago, which grows wild in great quantities in this archipelago.

The religion of the inhabitants of the Moluccas is a corruption of Mahometanism.

The only persons who go clothed are the women and the priests; the men only cover the head with a hat, painted in different colours, made of the leaves of the latanier; the rest of the body is naked, with the exception of a bit of narrow cloth, for the sake of decency.

The dress of the women consists of a long robe, without any folds, fastened in front: they wear hats of an enormous size, not less than seven or eight feet in circumference; these hats are flat on the upper surface, and loaded with ornaments of shell work and mother of pearl. On the under side, a circle of three inches in depth forms the crown, and retains it on the head. The women never go out; they are always confined to the house.

The priests, like the women, are clothed in a long robe, but they are recognized by their caps, which are pointed.

Both sexes wear on their arms rings of shell work,

of a kind of porcelain, which they cut in this shape by rubbing on a stone.

Their arms are the bow and arrow, quiver and shield; the bow is constructed of a very light, fibrous, and elastic wood, ornamented with rings made of the rotin, which likewise, when prepared for the purpose, answers for the string. The arrows are made of a light elastic reed, and the point of wood jagged and very hard; sometimes this point is formed of the longest dorsal fin bone of a large fish, and which is prickly or barbed. The quiver is made of the bark of a tree, the shield of a black wood, very hard: they are covered with sketches in relief, executed with small shell work of a very beautiful white. These shields are long, and narrower in the middle than at both ends.

Their boats are of an ingenious and singular construction; they are not less than seventy to eighty feet in length; the two ends are extremely elevated, and rise even to twenty feet above the water; the rudder is nothing but a long oar, supported on a scaffold; the hull of the boat consists of planks, which are neither jointed or nailed, but simply put together, and retained by rope, made of the rotin. To the sides are fixed two horizonal wings, which serve to support it in stormy weather. Ten men, seated sideways on these wings, by means of paddles, give incredible velocity to it; the dexterity of the rowers consists in striking the water all at the same moment, and with perfect regularity. It is, doubtless, for this reason that during the time they row they excite each other by songs, or relieve their labour by the noise of a kind of tam tam, to the sound of which their movements keep time. The sails are made of several mats, of an oblong form, and are placed crossways on the masts.

The Papuans who inhabit New Guinea, and the islands on its coasts, are the immediate neighbours of the inhabitants of the Moluccas, yet have neither

their manners, or possess one trait of the character of the latter: they approach nearer, and bear a closer analogy to the natives of Guinea, on the coast of Africa, and which has been the cause of the country they inhabit acquiring the name of New Guinea. They are little known, and their coasts seldom visited. They are of a robust make, and great stature, and though of a shining black, their skin is nevertheless rough and hard; their eyes are large, the nose flattened, and the mouth excessively wide; the lips, particularly the upper, very thick; the hair crisped, and of a brilliant black. The character of these savages corresponds with their exterior; they are fond of war, and to bravery they join cruelty to their enemies.

In the interior of the large island of Papua, or New Guinea, there exists a race of men called *Haraforas*, who live in trees, to which they mount by means of a notched piece of wood, which they draw after them, by way of guarding against surprize.

The principal commerce of the Papuans is with the Chinese, of whom they purchase their different instruments and utensils. They give in exchange ambergris, sea snails, tortoiseshell, small pearls, birds of Paradise, lories, and other birds, which they stuff with great dexterity. The women appear to be industrious; they fabricate mats and earthen pots, and handle the hatchet well.

The shores of Papua are bold, and covered with cocoa trees; the mountains of the interior adorned with wood; the nutmeg and clove tree flourish there, and nature has made it one of the finest countries on the furface of the globe. (*Sonnini.*)

The Moluccas, like the Philippines, contain many volcanos, which are, probably, only different mouths of the same furnace. That of Siao is one of the most considerable; in its most active eruptions it covers all the neighbouring islands with cinders.

NOTES

TO

VOLUME I.

NOTE I.—Page 6.

WERE it not that we have this strong corroborative evidence of the veracity of other travellers on this subject, we should be inclined to attach a degree of impossibility to the existence of an European power of the first distinction, in an insular situation, similar to that of the Philippines, established there for nearly three centuries; yet through the whole of that period incessantly exposed to the inroads and depredations of the surrounding savage nations. But in the perusal of the following pages it will appear sufficiently manifest that the system of colonization pursued by the Spanish monarchy, From the first discovery of the New World, and without little, if any, amelioration, practised at this time, is least of all calculated for either the extension of permanent national dominion, the enlargement of the human mind, or the general dissemination of commercial industry. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and America produced a revolution among the European nations, which, aided by the phenomenon of the magnetic needle, stimulated the human mind to exertions far more arduous than had been effected by the Crusades; but the same spirit that animated Peter the Hermit seems to have presided over the counsels of

the Spanish monarchy and directed its researches. To whatever cause it may be imputed, whether political, moral, or physical, this nation, so justly celebrated about this period, seems to have had little progressive tendency to improvement, and till within these few years the Spanish colonists of the eighteenth, in point of information and commercial enterprize, differed in no respect from those of the sixteenth century. The general dissemination of science, the gradual dispersion of prejudice, the consequent expansion of the human mind, and the example of surrounding nations, will doubtless have due effect on those noble qualities which characterized the Spaniard of the sixteenth century; and which, though enchained for succeeding ages by the peculiarity of their internal politics, still exist in the Spaniard of the nineteenth. No doubt, indeed, can be entertained that the changes likely to be produced during the present eventful period, will convert the reign of Ferdinand the VIIth into the æra of Spanish regeneration, in all that can be considered steady in council, great in arms, liberal in sentiment, and energetic in social as well as commercial intercourse. And we fully trust that the blind and persecuting influence which dictated the expulsion of the Chinese from the Philippines, and produced consequences nearly bordering on the annihilation of all industry and all commerce in the Islands, no longer disgraces their counsels or finds an advocate in the breast of one true Spaniard.

NOTE II.—Page 8.

We are well aware that at a distance from the seat of even an energetic government, abuses will exist which may sometimes be beyond its reach; but the instance before us, gives us at once an insight into that system of oppression and abuse of power which prevails in the Spanish settlements, and originated in the

invariable practice of the Spanish court, of furnishing the opportunity to their dependants in the mother country to enrich themselves during a temporary residence in the colonies.

NOTE III.—Page 12.

The most authentic communications on this subject to the translator, are, that during the months of March, April, and May, the heat is sometimes oppressive; June, July, August, and September, forms the rainy season; the month of October of a doubtful character; November, December, January, and February, a heavenly spring: and that the climate in the whole is uncommonly healthy, the natives living to a great age.

NOTE IV.—Page 13.

If it were not sufficiently ascertained that the author of this work was not a foreigner, but a monastic Spaniard, it might be concluded from this expression, that he meant to cast a strong reflection on the Spanish government; but in the progress of the work the reader will discover that he is fully justified.

NOTE V.—Page 14.

"The fishermen place their net zig-zag-ways in from eight to eighteen fathom water; at each angle they have several chambers, and over every angle they have a boat moored, with two or three fishermen in it, who are always watching the fish when they enter the chambers, and with a line, supported on the surface by a buoy, they draw a net across the chamber door." *Vide Jackson's Mediterranean Commerce*, p. 103-4.

NOTE VI.—Page 18.

The diversity of opinion as to the substance of which these nests are composed, is such, that to this hour we

are left on the wide field of conjecture, and without any clue which may be absolutely relied on for unravelling the mystery. The intelligent Sonnerat, as a judicious naturalist, is entitled to every attention on the subject, and he, by admitting into his work the following quotation from "*Transactions philosophiques de la société Batave, établie dans l'isle de Java pour l'avancement des arts et des sciences, vol. iii.*" gives us reason to suppose that he adopts the opinion of that writer. He prefaces his introduction of the subject by the following scientific description of the bird:

"La salangane (hirundo esculenta, Lath. sp. 26. Lin. Rumph. herb. vi. pag. 183. tab. 75. fig. 4. Forster.)"

And then proceeds with the extract thus:

"The salanganes are of a blackish grey colour, somewhat inclining to green; but on the back, down to the tail, as well as under the breast, the colour is mouse grey. The whole length of the bird, from the back to the tail, is about four inches and a half; and its height, taken from the beak to the extremity of the foot, three and a quarter inches: its girt is ten and a quarter inches: the longest feathers of the wing are about four inches. The head is flat; but the thickness of the downy feathers which cover it make it appear round, and rather large in proportion to the rest of the body. The beak is large, ending in a sharp point, but hooked like that of a nocturnal bird of prey; its size is augmented by the addition of a naked membrane, similar to parchment, which folds inwards when the beak is shut, but expands with the opening of it, and enables the bird, while on the wing, to seize with greater facility the insects which constitute its food. The eyes are black, and very large; and the tongue not forked, but of the form of an arrow. The ears flat and round, with a small oblong opening, and entirely covered by the downy feathers of the head. The neck very short, as are the legs, and bones of the wings. The thighs en-

tirely covered with feathers; and the lower and more delicate parts of the legs, as well as the feet, provided with a black skin resembling parchment: each foot has four toes, three pointing forwards and one backwards; they are separated from each other even to the root, and the middle one, including the claw, is at least as long as the lower part of the leg; each toe is furnished with a black claw, pointed, hooked, and very long, by means of which it attaches itself, with great facility, to the juttings of the rocks. The tail is at least as long as the body, even including the neck and the head; when it is spread out it has the shape of a wedge, and has ten large feathers; the four first on each side are the longest, and when the tail is closed they extend beyond the others about an inch; the others diminish towards the middle of the tail, and nearly equal the length of the body. This bird is extremely light and delicate; ten of these swallows will only weigh about two ounces and a half. The inhabitants of Java call them *lawit*, and the mountaineers give them the names of *berongdagæ* or *waled*.

"There are two places in the neighbourhood of Batavia where they are found in great abundance; the one, Calappa-Nongal, is about ten miles to the south of the town; the other, Sampia, is a little more distant towards the south-west, but both lie in that elevated range which takes its direction by the sea coast, and which appears to be different from the great chain which pushes itself into the country, and traverses the whole island. Besides these principal places, there are many others, both in the same district, and at a very great distance from the coast, where these birds are found, though in fewer numbers; and there are even some which are carefully concealed by those of the inhabitants who are acquainted with them.

"There are two bird mountains, called *Goa* (caverns) by the inhabitants of Java, which are insulated rocks,

hollow in the middle, and pierced by a great number of openings, for the most part of sufficient size easily to admit a man; others are more difficult of access, and some so small that nature seems to have intended them for the security of those little animals. These rocks are composed of a grey calcareous stone and white marble, and are covered with a multitude of lofty trees of different kinds. To the interior of these caverns the birds fix their nests in horizontal ranges, and so close to each other, that, generally speaking, they join; they build them at different heights, from fifty to three hundred feet, higher or lower as they can find a birth; there is not a single hole, or convenient spot sufficiently dry and proper, which is not occupied; but if the surface is in the smallest degree wet, or even damp, the birds immediately abandon it.

"At break of day the whole of the birds take wing with a great noise, and in the dry season immediately shoot up so high in the atmosphere, in search of their food, as to be soon lost to the sight: they return about four in the afternoon, and again take shelter in their holes, to which they confine themselves during the rest of the day, those excepted which are hatching. On the other hand, during the rainy season, it has been often remarked that they never ramble very far from their holes, particularly in the government of Java, where the rocks even border close on the sea.

"They feed on all the varieties of insects which are found hovering over stagnated waters, and they easily secure them by means of the extended opening of which their beak is capable. Their most formidable enemy is a bird of prey, which catches them in great numbers as they escape from their holes, and which the inhabitants are very careful to keep at a distance as much as possible by shooting them.

"They prepare their nests with the more solid parts of their food, and by no means with the froth of the

sea or marine plants, as has been asserted *. This opinion is the more founded in probability, as it is ascertained by experience that those birds which build on the rocks, already mentioned, have never been seen on the coast, and that they could not repair thither and return in any reasonable time on account of the lofty chains of mountains they would have to traverse, and the tempestuous winds which prevail there. The great difference, then, in the colour and value of these nests, is a proof that their quality depends solely on the nature and abundance of the insects which form their food; perhaps, likewise, on the more or less perfect solitude of the places they resort to for it.

"The nests collected in the territory of Calappa-Nongal and of Goadja are quite grey, and are of one-third less value than those of the territory of Sampia. These last again are in far less estimation than the excellent sort sent every year from Ternate and Passir, or those found in the islands immediately adjoining, and on that of Borneo in particular.

"These birds require two months to prepare their nests; they immediately after lay their eggs, and sit fifteen or sixteen days. As soon as the young take flight, the gathering of the nests commences, and is repeated every four months: it is the harvest of the proprietors of those rocks. This is performed by men accustomed from their infancy to clamber among these precipices: with reeds and bamboos they provide themselves with ladders, with which they mount up to the holes; but when the depth of the caves is too great, they have recourse to ropes.

"When at the bottom of these caverns, they place against the inside notched bamboos, which answer the

* This is an opinion very generally received, and naturalists, in copying one from another, have stamped a credit upon it. Houttyn himself, in his *Natural History*, vol. i. part v. page 607, gives a description of this bird, and of its manners, very different from the above.

purpose of ladders, to enable them to reach the nests, and if these are beyond their immediate reach, they detach them with bamboo poles; there are likewise holes, but in very limited numbers, which may be got at by means of ladders of bamboo.

"This employment, which is attended with very great risk, costs the lives of many human beings, and particularly of those who attempt to steal the nests. For their preservation, guards are placed here and there.

"The mountaineers usually employed in collecting the nests never undertake it till they have sacrificed a buffalo, the usual prelude, with the Javanese, of all their enterprizes; they mutter a few prayers, anoint their bodies with aromatic oils, and fumigate the caverns with incense, a precaution, according to them, absolutely necessary. The principal of these caverns lie in the island of Java, where a female deity, under the appellation of *Raton laut Ridaud*, or *Princess of the South Sea*, is held in high veneration. A small hut, containing a covered bed, is prepared for her, together with several elegant dresses, and which no person but a Princess dare approach. Every Friday, during the period of collecting the nests, incense is burnt in it, and the bodies and clothes of all those who propose to mount the rocks ought to be exposed to this fumigation. The rest of the Javanese are not so superstitious, and attach much less importance to ceremonies. These caverns are lighted, on such occasions, by torches made with the rosin of a large tree, called the *cavet*, and of the inner bark of the areka.

"The collection of the nests does not last more than a month, and, as has been said, may be repeated three times annually. Some think that it might even be extended to a fourth, but that is not very probable, as all the people employed in this work affirm that a nest, as long as it remains entire, is constantly augmented or

thickened by the bird, which never totally abandons it till it becomes dry and woolly in the inside.

"After the nests are gathered, nothing remains to be done but to dry and clean them, and they are then packed in baskets and sold to the Chinese. The price varies, as depending on their whiteness and degree of perfection; some are grey, and others reddish, while those of the best sort are extremely rare. They are sold on the spot for from eight hundred to one thousand four hundred rixdollars for one hundred and twenty-five pounds weight. This price, and the insatiable avarice of the Chinese, often produce cheating, and an adulteration of the article. They have no hesitation in corrupting the guards with money, opium, or clothes; and deceits are practised, against which the most extreme vigilance is often unavailing.

"The two places we have already mentioned, Calappa-Nongal and Sampia, belonged formerly to the Dutch East India Company, but as the advantages resulting from the possession of them were partly unknown, or diminished in value by the dexterity of the Javanese, the company formed the resolution of letting them by public auction, and nearly one hundred thousand rix-dollars is drawn from them, a sum far exceeding their utmost expectations. In the same range of mountains there are besides these other places of the same description, but of less importance. There are likewise two or three in the interior, and some others, which are concealed with great care.

"There are in the government of Samarang, in the island of Java, three mountains celebrated for their birds, called Goadaher, Gede, and Nangasari. The sea washes their base, and flows so far into the interior of the latter, that it may be said they can catch fish in the body of the mountain. The nests in these districts are of an excellent quality, but very difficult to collect, on account

of the precipitous nature of the rocks, and the violent beating of the surge against them, which renders it necessary for those employed to suspend themselves from the top by ladders of bamboo. In the island of Java, about twenty-five quintals of these nests are collected annually.

"There are likewise swallow caverns in the island of Bantam, and in Sumatra; but the inhabitants of the former are so indolent, and the government so detestable, that they are not even at the trouble to sow rice, nor do they cultivate any one article which contributes to human existence. The Chinese have never attempted to penetrate into the interior of this kingdom, and they have no commerce whatever with the mountaineers; indeed they have very little intercourse even with the coast.

"The Javanese and Europeans established in India eat even the birds themselves when young, but it is difficult to procure them; they are considered as a very luscious food. The nests, on the contrary, when stewed as a soup, and afterwards exposed to the dew, and sweetened with sugar, are said to be highly cooling, and the Javanese administer them successfully in violent fevers. The author of this memoir has had occasion to observe that, prepared in the manner which will be subsequently mentioned, they have been useful in disorders of the throat, and in hoarseness. Most probably this remedy has been borrowed from the Chinese, who (according to information furnished to the author by a man who was in the habit of dealing largely in these nests) use them most generally in the winter, because disorders of the throat are very common at that season in the southern regions of the empire, on account of the habits the Chinese are in of indulging themselves over the fire.

"But though the author has repeatedly eat these nests, prepared in various ways, he has not been able to bring

himself to put much faith in the very nutritive and strengthening property attributed to them. He has had them analyzed by good chemists, but the result has been only a gummy solution, of rather a disagreeable taste, which might, however, be of service in certain disorders of the chest.

"These nests are, in fact, only articles of luxury or ornament on the tables of the rich. The Chinese are passionately fond of them: after well soaking and cleaning them, they are put with a fat capon or a duck into an earthen pot, closely covered; they are simmered for twenty-four hours over a small fire, which is called *timmen;* thus prepared, this eatable acquires a relish infinitely more rich, and a more nourishing quality.

"The trade in these nests, which some years ago was of little importance, has been greatly on the increase for some time. The price is constantly rising in China, and Batavia is the principal market for them. The company having abandoned it, the inhabitants derive sufficient advantage from it to diminish the exportation of specie, which is highly prejudicial. It is now very well ascertained that the species of swallow which builds these nests is not to be found in China.

"Linnæus, in his *Systeme Naturel,* characterizes this swallow, which he calls the *hirundo esculenta,* by white spots only on the feathers of the tail. But those birds of Java, which construct the nests in question, have no spots either on their tail or elsewhere. The feathers of the tail are entirely of one colour, that is, grey, approaching to black on the upper, and a lighter grey on the under surface.

"Rumph says, in speaking of these *apodes marinæ,* that the feathers of their tail are spotted, and that the breast has black and white spots.

"Valentyn in his description of the small swallow which builds the eatable nests, says nothing of spots, and only states that the body is veined white and black.

"If these differences are allowed to be essential, it will follow that there must be two kinds of these swallows, the one with a spotted breast, and having white spots on the tail, the other without either. It is possible, even, that there may be a third variety, that called *momos*, or *bocrongitams*. These likewise form their nests of part of their food; but mixed with so much impure matter that no use can be made of them. Care is taken, therefore, to drive them away, that they may not injure the nests of the better species. They are readily known from these latter by their superior size, and their legs being provided with small feathers down to the feet.

" In the kingdom of Tonquin, and in China, there is a great demand for these nests of the salanganes. They form their most exquisite food, and they attribute to them the property of strengthening the stomach, and of being a powerful aphrodisiac. They are preserved for the tables of the King, and those of the principal nobles who are able to procure them. They are diluted, made into gravy or soup, and mixed with all sorts of choice aliment, and every kind of taste is imputed to them.

" In the state in which the salanganes are sold, they bear a close resemblance to the half of a preserved citron, both in size and shape. They are put into small boats, which the people of the country are sufficiently dextrous in piloting through the rocks where the nests are found. The King of Cochin-China retains in his own hands, exclusively, the portion of this trade which belongs to him, as the most precious production of his dominions, and of which the sale is most to be relied on."

Note VII.—Page 18.

This shell, which even here, as every where else,

bears the name of cowrie, forms likewise the currency of Africa, as it formerly did that of India; and this may probably furnish an argument in favour of the Malay origin.

NOTE VIII.—Page 21. NOTE IX.—Same page.

Two causes are here assigned for the wretched state of these dependencies, apparently different, but in fact flowing from the same source. We are told that the surrounding nations are more industrious, and can work at a cheaper rate, and that the insects and rats destroy the produce of the soil. Were the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures an object of importance in the colonial system of the Philippines, the extension and protection of the former would soon circumscribe the dominion of the rats, its most destructive enemy; and if the productions of the soil were, as they ought to be, in as great plenty, and at as low a rate as on the neighbouring islands, manufactures, particularly with the aid of machinery, would be afforded at a profit adequate to the exertions of industry. But the truth is, that the Spanish government is rather desirous of considering the Philippines as the grand depot of the commerce of South America with India and China, and it may be presumed that, on this account, not only is its industry repressed, but the very heavy expense of the settlement submitted to and annually sent from New Spain. The revenue stated to be collected in the islands amounts to about one million of dollars, and this, together with about the same sum remitted by the Acapulco ships, enable the government to defray the annual charges of the colonial establishment.

NOTE X.—Page 24.

The Spanish author, on the subject of the origin of these Negroes, forms a conclusion directly at variance

with what he afterwards says with regard to the origin of the Indians. He admits that the similarity of the former to those of Angola, with the exception of only a shade in colour, carries sufficient conviction as to their parent stock, and of course allows the islands to have been originally colonized from Africa, and by a people infinitely less advanced in cultivation than the Indians, setting aside at once his own very well founded subsequent conclusion, that the colonization of all the islands of the South Sea, with the Marianas, Philippines, &c. must have originated in South America, and proceeded gradually before the wind. The constant course of easterly winds in the Pacific, joined to the instances he adduces of similitude of language, unquestionably aid his hypothesis, which, though probably more curious than practically useful, is yet deserving of attention. There is not, indeed, a more embarrassing subject than that frequently proves to be, which treats of the origin and ancient connexion of distant nations, and after all, as in this case, we are too often left on the field of conjecture.

Note XI.—Page 25.

The reason here given for the wretched condition of these people seems more candidly than might be expected from a Spaniard, to take the load of responsibility from them and cast it on the government; and the perusal of the succeeding pages will but too well confirm the propriety of the censure.

Note XII.—Page 36.

Sonnerat asserts, that among the mild inhabitants of the fertile plains on the west border of the Lake Bay, adultery is the only crime punished with death; but it seems more reasonable to conclude, that of the two the Spaniard is most to be relied on.

NOTE XIII.—Page 37.

The striking resemblance of this to the price exacted by Laban from Jacob for his two daughters, will not be passed over by the reader unnoticed; and we are obliged to conclude either that such similarity of customs must originate in a common source, or that a certain state of social life, in certain climates, will produce manners mutually approximating.

NOTE XIV.—Page 42.

Without, in any respect, detracting from the merit of the propagators of the Christian faith in these islands, or claiming any superiority for our own tenets or practice, I fear we need not travel beyond the pillars of Hercules to the southward, and the Ultima Thulé to the northward, to discover such perversion of human intellect, although, I trust, it is no proof that we are very bad Christians.

The influence of traditional superstitions is too generally known and admitted to require to be descanted on. Its operation commences with the first dawn of reason, and very rarely is it found that even all the strength of the human mind, aided by religion and philosophy, can thoroughly eradicate the impressions it makes. The water kelpie of the north of Scotland differs from the Patianac and Tigbalang, only as being a good natured and very useful being; and we are all familiar with the mythologic machinery of our ancestors, for we will take leave to entertain a belief that Fingal and Ossian did once exist, and that the latter pourtrayed the manners, customs and opinions of his time.

NOTE XV.—Page 46.

It is curious to observe the progress of science and

discovery, and still more deserving our notice is the transitory nature of power. The magisterial authority assumed by the Pontiff on this occasion might possibly have saved the effusion of human blood, and its interposition at that crisis, as a mediator between the most powerful nations then in existence, if it was beneficial in no other respect, seems to have stimulated the Spaniards to attempt the discovery of a passage into the Pacific by the southern coast of America.

Note XVI.—Page 65.

This must either be a mistake, or we must conclude that the intercourse of the Portuguese with these islands had furnished them with the European improvements.

Notes XVII. and XVIII.—Pages 106-7.

The circumstances stated on both these occasions, incontestably prove that the energy and exertions of the Portuguese in establishing their own exclusive dominion in the eastern Archipelago, even in defiance of the fiat of his Holiness, had led them to impart to the natives that knowledge which they themselves had been but lately possessed of; for the use of cannon, on board ships, did not come into practice till about the year 1539.

Note XIX.—Page 129.

Thus it is that the Spaniards appear even to have deceived themselves in *subduing* those islands. In the course of this work, the reader will be enabled to appreciate the nature of what the Spaniards called a conquest. The progress of a few men into the interior of a country under the protection of fire-arms, and the baptism of some individuals, to whose language the Spaniards were perfect strangers, and who of course could form no idea of the obligations imposed by the

ceremony seem to constitute their notion of conquest. Thus it is too that their authority extends over so small a portion of these delicious islands.

NOTE XX.—Page 197.

The inhuman custom of infanticide is not only practised with impunity in China, but seems even countenanced as the readiest means of limiting a population which would otherwise be superabundant, and in time exceed the productive powers of the country. By the narrative of Lord Macartney we learn, that in the tract of country through which the embassy passed, the population appeared excessive; at the same time that cultivation and industry seemed to be extended to their utmost limits. All the accounts we possess of that extraordinary empire concur in this representation. What effect the very pious application of the funds of the eleemosynary establishments at Manila may have in checking this savage custom is not noticed by the author; and we have reason to fear the practice is so general, that any attempt to check it by this means might rather tend to stimulate the avarice of the parents, and produce an opposite effect. The Chinese are as yet but in a half civilized state, and while they continue so we can entertain but slender hopes of any alteration more consistent with the feelings of humanity.

NOTE XXI.—Page 211.

The whole of this paragraph comprises a more virulent Philippic against the Spanish government than we could have expected from a Spaniard; but which the reader is by this time convinced is no less just than spirited. That the mild measures the author recommends would have the desired effect may be fairly doubted. He appears to write as a monk rather than as a statesman; but it cannot admit of a question, that if

it were possible to combine with such measures a military establishment, under the control of wise laws, whose mild influence might be generally felt, and equally protect the native as the Spaniard, the unstable authority of that nation upon these islands would soon assume a different character, and reduce the quantum of human misery which their present system is calculated to perpetuate.

NOTES

TO

VOLUME II.

Note I.—Page 14.

IT is here stated, that in 1709 the Chinese were expelled the Philippines, and the reason assigned for that expulsion is their application to commerce in lieu of agriculture, with a view to which latter their residence was originally countenanced. Whatever employment, in any community, offers the most productive results with the least labour will naturally be resorted to by those whose residence, like that of the Chinese, is merely temporary. They are acknowledged to be a submissive and industrious people, and we must conclude that the profits of agriculture were so much less secure or less productive than those of commerce, that the latter was preferred; and their habits of industry being far superior to those of the indolent Spaniard, and the more indolent native, we cannot wonder at their retreat, with their acquisitions, from a country the government of which, so far from encouraging them with a permanency of establishment, drew from them, in the person of the Governor, a large revenue, as a tax on their temporary residence. *Sonnerat* says, that the expulsion of the Chinese was the cause of the decline of arts and commerce, and that they have never since recovered. "Misery and depopulation have been the

fatal consequences of this mal-administration." It is evident, however, that since that period, either the fallacy of the policy which dictated the measure has been discovered, and the prohibition been removed, or, which is more likely, the interest of the respective Governors has produced a relaxation in favour of these industrious foreigners; for Mr. Guise, who resided there several years, assures the translator, that when he quitted Manila, about fifteen years ago, there were on the island from fifteen to twenty thousand Chinese permitted to remain as residents, and engaged in agriculture and commerce.

A Chinese Captain seems to be appointed by the Governor, who is responsible for their conduct, and through whom applications for residence are negociated with the government. The intercourse with the Chinese port of Amoy, and with the north-eastern ports of China, employs seven or eight junks, which bring with them annually from three hundred to five hundred new adventurers, who work their passage over, bringing each his packet of goods, with which, it may be presumed, he forms his capital for trade during his residence there, and for which residence, it may be equally presumed, he contributes annually to the Governor: these junks likewise furnish to those who have acquired a competency the means of revisiting their native country with their riches. It must be concluded, therefore, that the Chinese, by their residence in Luzon, contribute by their industry to the comforts of life, and hold out an example which neither the Spaniard or native seem disposed to follow; at the same time that the former characterizes the indulgence shown to them as highly impolitic, and a wanton waste of the riches and wealth of the colony.

NOTE II.—Page 60.

No stronger proof can be adduced of the unsettled

state of the maritime insurance law in the Spanish colonies than the instance in the text. Can we entertain the favourable supposition that in the mother-country this subject is equally well understood as by every other European nation, and that a concurrence of circumstances have conspired to introduce and perpetuate a vicious practice in this colony? We fear in the sequel the reader will not be justified in this conclusion.

NOTE III.—Page 65.

This is another instance of the disposition of the Spaniards to extend what they ridiculously enough term their conquests, rather than to consolidate their power, and establish their influence in the Philippines. The attempt seems to have met with the fate it merited; but although it proved abortive, we cannot help holding up to due praise the perseverance with which, in perfect contempt of all personal danger, the Catholic missionaries pursue their object of proselytism.

NOTE IV.—Page 72.

The value of this trade is here pretty clearly detailed and comprehensively stated; we are left to conclude that the profits are from one hundred to two hundred per cent. The translator is informed by Mr. Guise that this trade was thus carried on:

The ship, having a Captain appointed by the Governor of Manila, was furnished by the King, by whom likewise all the expenses of the voyage were defrayed, and for whose reimbursement a duty of thirty-three per cent. was levied at Acapulco on the value of the cargo there. The persons who had the privilege of loading the ship were the Captain, to a certain extent; the pious establishments; the widows of officers, counsel-

lors, &c. members of government, and merchants: the portions of each from a quarter of a ton upwards, the Captain having from forty to fifty tons. Exclusive of the right which the pious establishments thus enjoyed of occupying tonnage, they lent their money to the adventurers on a respondentia interest, as will be mentioned in a future note.

This trade may most probably, at this period, be conducted upon a different principle, and partake of that relaxation which it has been found necessary to countenance through the whole of the Spanish settlements, in consequence of recent political events.

NOTE V.—Page 78.

It is not possible to produce a stronger proof of the inefficiency of the Spanish colonial system, than the treatment of this disinterested and honest servant of the crown exhibits.

NOTE VI.—Page 83.

The determination of this question by the Royal Audience in favour of the pious establishments, was unquestionably conformable to the admitted principle of respondentia; and the reversal of it by the council of the Indies is a sufficient proof of the unsettled state of mercantile law in Spain, on a point which seems elsewhere generally and definitively adjusted.

The liability of the respondentia lenders seems to be so ill defined, that even in case of nearly total loss, their full demand is awarded them, the loss thus falling on the borrower, instead (on the received respondentia principle) of the lenders being entitled only to the proportion of what is saved; for the premium of twenty-five per cent. which they receive, may be presumed adequate to the interest and insurance on such a voyage.

It ought not, under these circumstances, to create wonder that the merchant adventurers borrowing from these establishments should, with a view to their own protection, take due care that a partial shall, by one means or other, be converted into a total loss.

There is one peculiarity in the principle of these loans which forms a feature in the transaction distinct from common respondentia, inasmuch as that the latter is limited to that bottom on which the adventure began, while in the former the lender follows the goods until they are sold and returned, though by some other bottom; but his liability and forbearance of his principal and premium is limited to three years. In respect to this limitation, it is even conformable to our terms of respondentia, which allow a monthly per centage in proportion to the first period of twenty months on which the premium is calculated, but which per centage can only be demanded to the extent in all of thirty-six months, including the original twenty, provided the voyage should be prolonged so much; the common interest of five per cent. only upon the aggregate amount afterwards attaching, and all marine risk ceasing.

THE END.

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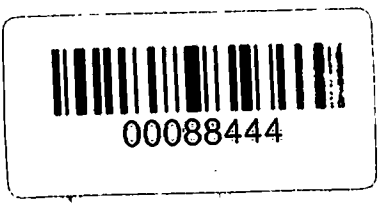
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